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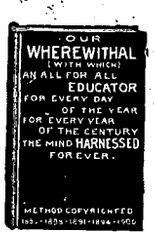


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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1903.

## The Week.

From Washington, "on high authority" comes the intimation that the Panama muddle is to be settled this way: the United States will pay to the Republic of Panama the $10,000,000 fixed as the price of the canal strip by the Hay-Herran treaty; the bantling republic will then turn over the millions to Colombia as the price of undisturbed independence. As a corollary to the scheme, it appears that we are to take from the Republic of Panama whatever we choose. Against the beautiful simplicity of the plan it might be urged, first, that since $10,000,000 seemed an insufficient consideration for ceding control of that canal strip, it is an insultingly low figure for the loss of the entire Isthmus; next, that the pains of receiving the bonus and conveying it as a solatium to Colombia would be more cruel than any the Panamanians ever suffered under the tyranny of Bogotá; finally, that we really need not pay anything for the canal. The French company has rights that we must respect, but why should we pay Colombia for letting Panama go? Why give Little Americans a chance to say that we are paying "conscience money"? So our full-blooded expansionists will reason. It would be better to employ the typographical device so engagingly advocated by the *Sun*, and read the $10,000,000 entirely out of the treaty. Thus—for $10,000,000 read $00,000,000.

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We are glad to see the *Tribune* pitching into President Marroquin for his ignorance. You cannot be too severe upon a man you have robbed, when he shows that he does not even know how to demand his money back. The idea of such an international *faux pas* as a direct appeal to the American Senate by the President of a foreign country! It is enough to make the blood of a trained diplomat run cold—or, at any rate, colder. Really, it is difficult to be patient with Marroquin. Has he never been cheated before, that he should display such ignorance of his remedy? He ought to have known that no American could pardon so gross a breach of international etiquette. We might have given back his property to a President who betrayed some knowledge of good usage, but to a blundering boor like Marroquin—never! Foreigners must be made to understand that this polite nation will make no restitution to violators of good form. A charitable plea might, however, be made for the irregularity of Colombia's appeal to our Senate direct. President Marroquin had probably been reading Senator Lodge's article on the Senate. He there learned that all the wisdom and goodness of the United States were massed in the Senate; that Senators really ran this Government; that they made the President do their will in every respect, and, particularly, allowed him to have nothing to do with treaties. What wonder, then, that the untutored Colombian Executive went straight to headquarters?

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To show how scrupulously correct was our own conduct throughout, we need to read only the telegrams laid before Congress. Why, we did not recognize the revolution a minute before it occurred! In our supreme desire to follow the right course in stealing a canal, we telegraphed our consul at Panama on November 3 to find out if there was a revolution for us to recognize. He promptly replied that there was none yet, but hoped there would be in the course of the night. So, with great forbearance, our Government waited—with some impatience, it is true, but still it waited. Then note also how absolutely proper we were in paying no attention to Colombia's protest against our shearing off her best province. That protest did not arrive in Washington, Secretary Hay carefully observes, until two hours and fifteen minutes after we had recognized the independence of Panama. Of course, it was then too late to do anything. Justice might have required us to act, but think of the bad form! Seriously, the official dispatches sent in to Congress, meagre as they are, and far from telling the whole story as they are, make it certain that our Government knew all about the Panama revolution in advance, and had arranged to give aid and comfort to the insurrectionists. How else can we interpret the orders sent to Admiral Glass on November 2, *two days before the revolution*, "Prevent landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent, with hostile intent, at *any point within fifty miles of Panama*"? There could not be a plainer guarantee to the rebels of immunity from attack by Colombian troops.

---

Dr. Albert Shaw, the editor of the *Review of Reviews*, is one of the closest personal friends of Theodore Roosevelt, and a frequent visitor both at the White House and at Oyster Bay. Hence peculiar interest attaches to his utterances in the current number of the *Review*, upon the Panama situation. The article was obviously written long before the recent developments in the Isthmus. Its comments are very striking for their accurate forecast of what was likely to happen at Panama. The shadows of the coming events are here cast before so clearly as to entitle Dr. Shaw to front rank among astrologists—provided, always, that the future had not already been revealed to him either at Washington or elsewhere. Thus, in most positive language, Dr. Shaw stated that, in the event of an uprising at Panama, "our Government will no longer follow the plan of holding the situation for the benefit of the Colombian Government." It was also quite plain to Dr. Shaw that if Panama, in revolt, should "appeal to the United States for friendship and protection," she would "not be treated with disdain." Dr. Shaw further averred that Secretary Hay would not pay less to the new republic than to Colombia for a canal, and that he would not permit such a new republic "to assert over our canal strip any absurd pretensions of sovereignty." Along the canal itself "the United States Government would be at liberty in its own way to administer justice, protect the public health, and do *whatever it might find necessary* in its capacity as a Government."

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Senator Hoar intimates that the *Evening Post* should be ashamed of itself for attacking the Government "in foreign affairs." It ought to wait, the Senator insists, until it had the "facts" and "information" before it, to show what was the real "purpose of the Administration." But, really, it is only following the example of Senator Hoar himself. On December 6, 1893, he rose in the Senate to ask for information about Hawaii. That was an admission that he had not the "facts" before him, but did it deter him from attacking the Government? Not at all. He went on roundly to assert that the President was about to "commit an act of war against a friendly Power." So horrible a thing did that seem to him that he called for "a swift and indignant remonstrance of the American people," of a kind to make itself "heard by Executive ears, however dull they may seem to be." Surely, in that there is warrant enough for the *Evening Post*, from the very master of precedents and the flower of courtesy. The fact that President Cleveland was proposing to do an act of simple justice could not have so angered Senator Hoar as to make him forget the proprieties. At any rate, it does not lie in *his* mouth to rebuke those who speak out when the President is guilty, in the Senator's own words, of "an act of war against a friendly Power."

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M. Bunau-Varilla had already, in his letter to Senator Morgan, shown himself such a charming example of the diplomat of the new school that his venture into newspaper correspondence is

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like painting the lily. His cable dispatch to the Paris *Matin* is, so far as reported back to America, one of those inimitable combinations of sentiment and stock-jobbing which makes us regret the loss of a single word. He feels that the French recognition of Panama is proof that France appreciates the "elevated and noble scruples which have always governed America" in regard to French interests. Generous Americans, he says, gladly recall the services of France in the war of Independence, and also her magnanimity in offering us "for a nominal price the empire of Louisiana." This fresh view of the cordiality and liberality of France and of the delicate consideration of the United States is ample proof of M. Bunau-Varilla's skill in his new field of activity. But his burst of compliment rises to a climax when he assures the readers of the *Matin* that if "only a part of the capital invested" in the Panama Canal is saved, there would be "compensation for the balance in the closer friendship between the United States and France." Here we have a toast that beats the old one hollow. It is: 'Money is thicker than water."

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The usual fatuous citation of foreign approval, when the United States undertakes a course questionable in morals and perilous in policy, is now made in connection with the movement to annex Panama. France likes it, Germany has no quarrel with it, England gives silent consent—therefore it must be wise and good. We know how swiftly that argument is reversed on occasion. The fact that other nations desire us not to do a given thing has been many times a powerful reason for doing it. But in the present case the motive is unconcealed. Europe has long wanted the United States to take direct charge of the unruly peoples of Central and South America. We have warned foreigners to keep their hands off, yet have refused to keep the turbulent and revolution-ridden republics in order. The result has been no end of vexation for European nations. Their debts have been refused payment; their trade embarrassed. If we would only hold ourselves responsible for the foreign obligations of the South Americans, and make smooth the way of European trade with them, our commercial rivals would be delighted. No wonder, then, that they hail every step which promises to embarrass us and aid them. As for the break-up of Columbia and her consequent inability to pay the interest on her foreign loans, it is obvious that we are, in that regard, laying ourselves open to troublesome reclamations.

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If the Republican party were not possessed of a mind conscious of its own rectitude, Monday would have been a trying day for it in the House. The beginning of the debate on the Cuban Reciprocity bill was marked by an attempt on the part of the Democrats to make a virtuous action wear an unattractive appearance. The latter played their cards very well, and the honors of the first day's discussion rest easily with them. The determination of the Republicans to railroad the bill through the House by shutting off all amendments gave their opponents a chance to impugn their motives. Although the bill was defended by the Republicans on the ground that "the national honor required it," the new Democratic leader was quick to intimate that possibly the national honor had got mixed up with the necessities of the Sugar Trust. The refusal of the Republicans to entertain an amendment abolishing the differential on the refined, brought into play against the party that most deadly of all weapons, humor. The change of heart of those sixty-one Republicans who in the last Congress joined with the "solid Democratic phalanx in defiance of the Sugar Trust," was most effectively used. While questioning the sincerity of the Republicans, the Opposition hastened to support the pending bill because, as Representative Williams said, they recognize in it "a thoroughly Democratic proposition." The Republicans were thus represented as parading in borrowed clothes.

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According to the *Tribune's* Washington dispatches, familiar but very weak arguments are to be advanced in favor of Gen. Leonard Wood's confirmation as major-general. Thus, we are told that the President had to promote him because he was the senior brigadier-general, and also because not to have done so would have been a discourtesy to the memory of President McKinley, who originally appointed Wood a brigadier-general. Now, if appointments to major-generalcies are to be made not for merit, but out of respect to dead statesmen, this is a valid argument. The common belief at the time was, that President McKinley gave Gen. Wood the brigadier-generalcy in order to keep him from accepting the presidency of the District of Columbia street railways at a salary of $25,000. As far as the argument of seniority is concerned, it is ridiculous enough when one considers that Gen. Wood had just been jumped over 456 other officers, all senior to him. Moreover, it was not Gen. Wood's only chance to become a major-general, since vacancies in that grade will occur in 1904, 1906, 1907, and also in 1909, by which time Gen. Wood will undoubtedly be better fitted for the rank than to-day. Most important of all, promotions from brigadier to major-general have not been governed by seniority under either Mr. McKinley or Mr. Roosevelt. The latter, for instance, in July, 1902, jumped Brigadier-Generals George W. Davis and John C. Bates over the head of the senior brigadier, James F. Wade, who had been five years in that rank. President McKinley had previously passed over Gen. Wade's head to the rank of major-general Colonels S. B. M. Young, A. R. Chaffee, Arthur MacArthur, Robert P. Hughes, and Loyd Wheaton. It was considered perfectly proper for Gen. Wade to take rank under these officers and to wait until this year for his double stars. If the Senate committee really wishes to ascertain professional opinion about Wood, it should cite army officers before it and promise them immunity for any statements they may make.

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The ten per cent. cut in wages at Fall River is symptomatic. The abnormally high price of cotton does not really differentiate the textile situation from that of industry in general. The excessive amounts paid by the Steel Trust for its ore lands, its coke ovens, and other properties contributing to its finished product have put it in a similar dilemma. And it was only last week that the president of the American Cotton Oil Company explained a heavy drop in the earnings for the last year on the ground of the extremely high price of cottonseed. The railroads have also been exemplifying this tendency, the increase in their gross earnings being in a number of cases more than offset by the higher cost of all their supplies. The cut at Fall River is no surprise to any one acquainted with the industry, for it has been a well understood fact for months past that there could be little profit in manufacturing without an advance in the price of finished products.

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Granting that the excessive quotations on cotton are due as much to natural conditions as to manipulation, there is still the question of the purchasing power of the community to be considered. A favorite argument with both cotton and wool manufacturers in recent years has been that the public would be forced to buy at any price. This has been shown to be a fallacy this year in the wool manufacturing industry; and evidently fears are entertained that the doctrine will prove equally ineffective in cotton. The slump in the Chinese demand, occasioned by the high quotations made by our manufacturers, has greatly enlarged the offerings in the home market, where increased economy on the part of final consumers has already begun to be witnessed. Hence it is the inevitable which has occurred. The cost of production must be reduced, and wages, as is usually the case, must suffer first. There can be little doubt that the movement will not be confined to Fall River, but will extend to the other southern New England manufacturing centres, and eventually to the northern New England textile communities—that

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is, to the fine-goods mills. The question, of course, is, How will the operatives take the new situation? The presumption is that they will recognize its inevitable character and refrain from strikes.

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The latest phase of the Montana copper-mining situation is most menacing. When a judge handed down a decision adverse to the Amalgamated Copper Company, that concern immediately announced the closing down of all its mines, smelters, and other plants in the State, throwing upwards of 12,000 men out of employment. We asked at the time if this action was for the purpose of coercing the higher court. It looks now as if the end in view was the coercion of the Governor and the Legislature, and eventually of the judiciary. The labor situation thus created threatened to demoralize the State. The burden of solving the problem was thrown upon the Governor, who received assurances from the Amalgamated people that if he would call an extra session of the Legislature to discuss the desirability of preventing judges with a bias from trying cases which might come before them, work at the mines and smelters would be resumed at once. The Governor has assented to this and issued the call. The position in which he finds himself, even as the executive of so notorious a pocket borough as Montana, is extraordinary. He says that, bad as is the present condition of the State, he believes it should continue indefinitely rather than that such a precedent as this should be established. The fact is, he has found himself confronted with what the Roman poet calls the severe necessity of nature, and has been unable to stand up under the shower of petitions which have come to him from taxpayers, labor organizations, and others.

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The "open shop" is a dangerous subject, as the American Federation of Labor discovered on Thursday. The members saved themselves from disaster by recommitting some wild resolutions which, apropos of President Roosevelt's decision in the Miller case, declared that "this open-shop policy is but a subterfuge and a means of strengthening the non-union and scab-shop position of the union-hating capitalist corporations"; and that "this applies to the open shop under private management as well as to the open shop under Government or public management." The President can only be strengthened, not weakened, by such denunciation. He has take his stand squarely on the impregnable law which can recognize in public service no distinctions of color, creed, or social class. Should the Federation be rash enough to set up its dictum as superior to the fundamental principles of this republic, it would be exactly in the position of a bull fighting an express train.

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One of the absurd pretensions of labor unions has been rebuked by a Canadian court. The city of Toronto called for bids for firemen's clothing; and the lowest competitor was the Crown Tailoring Company. The contract, however, was awarded at a higher price to a concern using the union label. Thereupon the Crown Tailoring Company obtained an injunction. In rendering a judgment, Chancellor Boyd declared that in issuing its specifications the city could not demand the use of any particular union label, and thus discriminate against certain classes of laborers who might be as capable as those entitled to use the label. The true test of ability, he held, is not membership in a union. This decision simply applies to public contract work the same principle that President Roosevelt laid down in the Miller case in the Government Printing-Office. A private individual may have on his clothing any label he chooses, and he may pay any price he can afford; his whims and tastes are matters with him to settle with his conscience and his pocketbook. But the Government, whether Federal, State, or municipal, is bound to treat its citizens without fear or favor. The man who will do the work properly, and at the lowest price, with or without union labor, is entitled to the contract. Else the public is robbed to fatten an industrial monopoly.

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Premier Combes has announced to the French Senate the Government's intention of pushing the war against the teaching orders. The famous Associations Act of 1901 has already driven many of the religious orders out of primary instruction; now the Ministerial programme contemplates the permanent suppression of all secondary and superior schools managed by them. Authorized monks or nuns will be permitted to keep primary schools only. That would involve the closing of many historic colleges, and presumably the sequestration of their properties to the State. M. Combes further declared that the rights of the regular clergy in school matters would be separately considered as a part of the general readjustment of the relations of Church and State. That is a pretty clear intimation that the Government will seriously weigh the abrogation of the Concordat. Having deprived the orders of the liberties usual in all republican countries except France, and having withheld the stipends given by treaty to the regular clergy, the anti-clerical campaign would be complete. It will not be achieved without opposition, for there is an alternate project, with respectable backing, which provides simply for more stringent supervision of secondary and higher education.

"I have come to the melancholy conclusion that at present the country does not want a fleet nor an army nor public instruction"—thus Señor Silvela, the retiring Conservative chief, in his farewell address to the Spanish Cortes. Chamberlain may devote all the strength of his sixty-eight years to a demand for tariffs; Von Bülow may give his days and nights to the Agrarians and to the canal advocates. But not Silvela! It is not for this grandee to stoop to things of a fiscal nature. "The country," he declared, "is interested only in material reforms, in agriculture, in industry, trade, and public works. It is perhaps right. But I, for my part, in order to remain in office, required that the country should want an army, a fleet, and such a foreign policy as it ought to desire." Lest any one should be in doubt as to that policy, Señor Silvela added: "I mean a foreign policy frankly accepted without fear of the risk. To be on equally good terms with every one is not a policy." No wonder that the Madrid correspondent of the London *Times* spoke of the dramatic interest of this scene. To think that a nation could fall so low as really to want to recoup itself after long years of war and oversea losses! On good terms with the world? Free from the burdens of army and navy? Devoted to the arts of peace? Engaged in industry? How sordid, how material, how small! No wonder Señor Silvela, broken-hearted, quits politics.

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The acceptance of the Austro-Russian demands by Turkey and the reappearance of Boris Sarafoff, the Macedonian leader, who had been reported dead, indicate the renewal of the Balkan rising in the spring. For the Turks will do nothing, and Sarafoff is one of the three great revolutionary chieftains. At the moment of formal acceptance, the Porte is making every effort to render the reforms of no effect. That will be done in a way long traditional at Constantinople. The most distasteful feature of the reforms is the provision for Christian "assessors" (inspectors) and officers of the gendarmery. But there is a class of subsidized Christians kept for precisely such exigencies. So long as the Sultan may have their nomination, he need not fear excessive zeal from that quarter. No scheme of reform, the working of which depends on the Sultan, is worth the paper it is written on. Austria and Russia, or, better, the European Concert, must set up an autonomous administration in Macedonia or face the prospect of the insurrection renewing itself with increased bitterness in the spring. The immediate need of the 25,000 refugees is food and clothing. With rifles enough, says that practised observer, Mr. A. G. Hales, of the London *Daily News*, the Macedonians could win their own independence. Hence the need of intervention during the armistice.

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### *HASTE AND REPENTANCE.*

Was it Roosevelt the historian, or Roosevelt the embarrassed party leader, who said, on receiving Panama's Minister, that his lightning recognition of Panama was but doing now "as we did nearly a century ago, when the Latin peoples of America proclaimed the right to popular government"? As he must be perfectly aware, what we "did" in 1822 was to recognize republics which had declared their independence from six to ten years before that date. In message after message, President Monroe referred to the revolutions in South America, but steadily refused to allow his hand to be forced, until the Spanish colonies had shown that they were able not merely to assert but to maintain their independence. In his special message of March 8, 1822, announcing recognition, Monroe gave a review of the long struggle, saying that *"the great length of time"* during which it had extended and the "utter inability" of Spain to reduce her revolted provinces, compelled him to conclude that the new nations ought to be recognized. Compare this deliberation with President Roosevelt's recognition of a seceding State before its own Government even knew that it was in revolution! Of course, President Monroe was a fearfully slow coach, who would have made a sad fist of it in these strenuous times; but if he waited six years, it does seem as if Mr. Roosevelt might have waited six days.

Clearly, it was not the Monroe Doctrine of recognition which Secretary Hay had in mind when he said that "the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule" were the sufficient bases of our foreign policy. Colombians, who are sadly ignorant of the Scriptures, will be tempted to think that what he really said was, "the good old rule"—that they should take who have the power. We know that the king's business requireth haste, and so, apparently, does a certain sort of President's. The first intimations we had from the State Department breathed of all deliberation. A guarded recognition of the de-facto government at Panama would probably be found necessary, so one of Mr. Hay's assistants informed the reporters, but nothing would be done precipitately. That was before the Cabinet meeting of the 6th. Immediately upon its close, the startling news came that the President not only had recognized the de-facto insurrectionist government, but had entered into relations with it, and had notified Colombia that she must not attempt to restore her revolted territory. This was the indecent haste which filled all conservative men with amaze; and the President's maladroit reference to the example of Monroe only serves to make his own course appear the more unprecedented and indefensible.

Are we now bound to go to war with England—and also Cuba—for declining to recognize the independence of Panama? No one can tell, in these wild and whirling times. The British Foreign Office, it is true, alleges that it is simply following "international precedent" in waiting to see if Panama is really able to maintain her independence; but this is either an insult or a stupidity. Does not Lord Lansdowne know that we have abolished all precedents, including our own? These doddering diplomats of the old school are really "not in the game." The hustling youth who are now playing football with international law are rapidly making Monroe and Seward and Lincoln a perfect laughing-stock. When British ships chartered by Colombia appeared on the horizon, the Cabinet told the President that it would never do to prepare another piece of *Trent* humble pie for himself to eat; and so the orders to stop British ships on the high seas were graciously rescinded. With lawyer-like patience, Secretary Root is said to have explained to the Executive, who had been reading his duty in his wishes, that, really, there were certain laws that it would be just as well to respect; that what had been ordered done in Colombian waters was an act of war. "Why, is it?" was the surprised question of that just man armed; "then, of course, I'll take the back track." But the real magnanimity of the Administration did not appear until it was a question of imminent collision with Great Britain. Any old law was good enough for the Colombians; but when the Union Jack hove in sight, the President suddenly awoke to the need of looking into the books to discover what the rule was.

Another retreat by a rashly vigorous Administration is announced in the matter of the new canal treaty. The first ingenious plan, it will be remembered, was to take the act of Congress and write into it the word "Panama" wherever the word "Colombia" stood. But it is now regretfully admitted that the question whether this can be done is "one for a lawyer to decide." Well, the lawyers have already decided it adversely, and the pretty scheme is abandoned. The thing will have to be done all over again. A new and perhaps tainted treaty will have to be submitted to the Senate. This will have to be done on the eve of a Presidential election, and the strenuous short-cut to a canal which would have come to us all in good time, if we had been patient and decent, is likely to delay the project still further. The earliest and most consistent advocates of the Panama route—at a time when Secretary Hay was scouting it as beneath the notice of a serious Government—are free to oppose to the best of their ability any treaty that bears on its face the marks of collusion and bad faith, undeterred by the virtuous attitude of the Administration in rejecting the proposal to go back and complete an arrangement with Colombia, on the ground that it would look as if we were actuated by mercenary motives. (Besides, we can get the canal so much cheaper from Panama!) The Democratic Senators are of course preparing to oppose the hasty-pudding treaty with the overnight "republic" of Panama. They will do so on various grounds, some sincere, some partisan; but it is obvious that, if they are determined, they can prevent ratification. The Republicans are three votes short of a two-thirds majority in the Senate. The great project now bids fair to be made a matter of fierce party contests; to be thrown into the next Presidential campaign; and so to be imperilled anew. So much for digging a canal before it was caught.

It is easy, of course, to hold up hands of horror at the nefarious course of the Democrats. Republicans ask in pained amazement if it is possible that an Opposition party can place itself before the country in so "ridiculous a light." Yes, dear friends, it is all too possible. The Republicans, when in Opposition, showed just how possible. They remorselessly killed the Bayard-Chamberlain treaty during President Cleveland's first Administration, and their motives were of precisely the partisan character which they now attribute to the Democrats. To score a point against the President of the opposite party; to embarrass the Administration; to keep unsettled questions still in a condition to vex statesmen and inflame the country—that has been the way of political parties ever since they were born. We are not defending it. We simply say that it is inevitable (political human nature being what it is) with a Presidential election imminent, and that it should have been foreseen. Above all should it have been foreseen by a President who prides himself on never pursuing barren ideals, but resolutely grasping the attainable.

### *THE CANCELLED MESSAGE.*

"We must forthwith take the matter into our own hands!" Those astounding words from the message that he would have sent to Congress but for the Panama revolution, President Roosevelt now makes public as a supposed justification. They are, rather, his deepened condemnation. They will revive the acute fears that many had when President McKinley was assassinated, lest a firebrand type of man succeed him. Mr. Roosevelt apparently strove to dissipate that alarm of sober citizens. They began to think that responsibility had steadied him, but now we find him taking a position which has in it the possibility of a thousand international quarrels and a constant threat of war. In an affair exclusively within the sovereign control of a friendly nation, he is ready to declare that "we can no long-

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er submit to trifling" and "must forthwith take the matter into our own hands"—the matter being, it will be observed, the property of another country. Under such a robber contention, we should be entitled to seize any land on earth which we happened to want, and which we thought ourselves possessed of sufficient brute force to take. It is a declaration of stark and lawless absolutism, tempered only by land-hunger, which we have lived to see made by an American President.

That Mr. Roosevelt's hasty falling into the arms of the Jonah's-gourd Republic of Panama was a diplomatic blunder of the first magnitude, is a proposition by itself. Several of our first authorities on international law have assented to it; but it may be admitted that the public in general does not take a keen interest in such nice questions. What everybody can see, however, is that the overbearing and brutal tone of President Roosevelt's message, as he had it blocked out, is a most serious matter. That portends trouble. It could not come from an Executive who was as scrupulous about right as he was about might. To say to a friendly but weak nation that its protests in regard to its own property were "trifling," and that we should "forthwith take the matter into our own hands," is openly to advocate a policy of aggression. The man in the street can see that. Here is no matter for experts. The wayfaring man knows bullying when he sees it, and, unless he is a fool, also knows that, as a national policy, it means the launching of a thousand ships. Hence it would seem that Mr. Roosevelt, in order to prove that he was not secretly fomenting revolution on the Isthmus, is willing to appear as a permanent disturber of the national peace. He may be sure that no utterance of his, since his accession to the Presidency, has given such a shock to conservative men, in his party and in the country generally, as this bellicose fragment of his message. We knew that he was blundering; we did not know that he would publicly indulge in threats and braggadocio.

Why should the President take it as such a mortal offence that the Colombian Senate declined to ratify the canal treaty as it stood? He speaks of this lawful action as "insincere dealing." How does he know that it was not sincere? How does the *Outlook*, which is so pained at any one's accepting rumor regarding American public men, know that it was "the robber politicians of Colombia" who defeated the treaty? It says they did, and repeats the phrase "robber politicians" with an air of conviction which ought to be based on some knowledge. Has it any? As for the President, he should be the last man to say that opposition to a canal treaty may not spring from the highest and most patriotic motives. He himself did all in his power to kill the first Hay-Pauncefote treaty, so vitally related to the Isthmian canal. That treaty had been agreed to, even ardently sought, by the Administration at Washington. It was approved by the best newspapers and the leaders of thought throughout the country. Yet at that juncture, Mr. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, burst out in a public interview with the hope that the treaty would be defeated. Was that "insincere dealing"? Did the *Outlook* call that the act of a "robber politician"? The treaty was defeated, but that led to none of the present howling. Mr. Hay went quietly to work to negotiate a new treaty, covering all the points of the old one in a way deftly to muzzle Mr. Roosevelt and the other Jingoes, and in due time it was ratified.

Nothing is commoner than to have treaties temporarily defeated. Our Senate has been a very graveyard of treaties. It ought to make the most solemn Senator smile to be informed by the President that the rejection of a treaty is a ground of international offence. If it were, we should have been at war by this time with half the nations of the earth. What diplomats, up till now, have done in such circumstances is to leave off making wry faces as soon as possible, and set about getting another treaty in the place of the one not satisfactory. There is no reason to think this might not have been done with Colombia. But no, says the President, "the time has come to declare that the beginning of the canal cannot be much longer delayed." Gladstone used to be called "an old man in a hurry," but why should the young man in the White House have been in such a consuming hurry? Could not a project which has been on our hands for sixty years wait till after his renomination? In his haste he has simply passed from one blunder to another, diplomatic and political, until now he stands face to face with the practical certainty of having, with all his hurry, only delayed matters.

## *THE TARIFF IN 1904.*

The new Democratic leader of the House displays signs of generalship which must occasion great uneasiness among Republicans. To line his party up in favor of Cuban reciprocity was an act of constructive statesmanship. This is only the first step in a broad campaign for a revision of the tariff. Hence, while the Administration will be glad to receive Democratic support on this particular measure, it must accept it with the knowledge that it is possibly paving the way for a good deal of trouble later. Representative Williams's announcement that "we shall fight for a revision of the tariff," gains force from the fact that Republican leaders have lately been talking about the possibility of injecting more protection into the schedules after next November. The existing tariff obviously furnishes the Republican party no issue for 1904. The party is in the position of a banker whose credit is questioned, and who sees the need of paying out cash regardless of everything, but the pinch of the moment. Mr. Williams, harping on the growing disappointment of the country over the Dingley law, says we must reduce our schedules. But the Republican party can never consent to that doctrine. Its contention will be that the tariff must be lifted higher.

Possibly Mr. Chamberlain's retaliatory scheme may furnish the "stand-patters" in this country the opportunity they need. If he will only keep up his discussion until next November, they may find an issue in him. It looks as if the "prosperity" cry would be out of the question in 1904. On the score of industrial conditions the country may not take alarm at all over the prospect of a Democratic administration. When one stops and reflects, it is really quite dreadful to think what will be the position of the Republican party in case the strenuous life should, after all, not turn out a winning issue. The tariff might then prove the last ditch. Just at present the tariff is somewhat under a cloud. More than two years ago President McKinley injected the poison of reciprocity rather liberally into the popular mind. Then, too, certain heartless political economists and newspaper editors have insisted on holding the tariff responsible for the industrial Trusts, with their efforts to advance artificially the price of commodities and their waterlogged capitalizations. Considering that a great many hundreds of millions of dollars have been lost in the stock market, and that wages are now being cut and mills shut up, under the latest Republican tariff, that does not seem on its face a very encouraging issue.

But it is right at this point that Mr. Chamberlain may prove a godsend to the "friends of protection." The tariff is capable of becoming a magnificent issue if rightly handled. A man must be blind who does not see why capital is now in mourning and labor in tears. What we needed was a great deal more tariff than we have had. But there is nothing harder than to make people see the obvious. Though we require a much higher tariff than the present, it would be risky to tell the voters that next year in plain terms. They might not see the point, and their base suspicions might lead them to raise the cry of plunder. But if we can announce in thundering tones that Mr. Chamberlain is preparing to ruin this country by his policy of "retaliation," they may be startled into a realization that the higher your tariff the higher your prosperity. The Republican managers have chosen the right way to work the thing. They have outlined a scheme which will effectually kill Mr.

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Chamberlain's preferential goose. It is said that while they propose to be "loyal to protection," they are not unwilling to do something for the revisionists, and that a strong effort will therefore be made to bring into the Republican platform next year a recommendation of a law providing maximum and minimum tariff schedules. If power is given to the President "to proclaim an exchange of favors with nations which are ready for such negotiation," he will possess a card which will trump anything in Mr. Chamberlain's hand.

Mr. Chamberlain will have to rise at a very early hour if he expects to get the better of our "friends of protection." He is only a tyro at the business, whereas they are past masters. He cannot learn too quickly that his policy would do Great Britain not a particle of good as against this country, but that it would play into the hands of our tariff gamblers. He wants Parliament to give him the right to impose retaliatory duties and then we shall see if the United States does not come down from its high horse right away. But if the "friends of protection" have their way next year, we shall simply mount a higher one. There is no knowing how high we might run up our schedules in case of a tariff squabble with Great Britain or any other country. Possibly we could do as much in that line as we did two or three years ago with stock-market quotations. Could anything please our "stand-patters" better than Mr. Chamberlain's threat to clap on duties to keep our products out of Great Britain? The loss to American industry from a curtailment of exports to that market would be only incidental. The thing to consider is the magnificent opportunity to raise our own tariff duties. To be sure, the benefit from this would accrue to only a handful of people; but that is a mere matter of detail. Let Mr. Chamberlain play his present cards, and we shall show him very quickly that we can trump his ace. The fact that his policy is not likely to be put into effect for several years, if ever, is of course no drawback to its use as a bugbear by our "stand-patters."

## *COLORED STATISTICS.*

The *Manufacturers' Record* of Baltimore again illustrates how impossible it seems to be for many Southern writers to discuss in good temper any question in which the relation of the negro to the rest of the community is in any wise involved. We had occasion, some short while since, to point out how magnificently endowed by nature the six heavy negro States of the South were. We said that, up to this time, those States had not attained in material things anything like the degree of prosperity of the country as a whole. We found the explanation in the fact that their population was made up not of one race, but of two, in approximately equal numbers. We did not discuss the question whether the negro was or was not in any sense the equal of the white man. We suggested, however, that, among negroes as among other races, progress upward was possible. We did not consider whether that progress ever would or could raise the negro to the level of the white man, but we did ask whether it was not of supreme importance to the South that the conditions surrounding the negro should be made such as to encourage him to progress to the utmost of his inherent possibilities; and we asked whether the South, with so many millions of black men living in it, could afford to say to them, "Strive as you choose, succeed as you can; but, whatever you do, so long as there is a discernible drop of African blood in your veins you shall never be allowed to obtain many of those things which men of all races and of all ages have most keenly longed for." In criticising our article, the *Record* uses such phrases as "fools, fanatics, or fiends," "idiocy or malignancy," etc. We carry on no discussion with any one who sees fit so to express himself, because no possible good can result from it.

One thing is said by the *Manufacturers' Record* in the article in question, and one thing only, on which it is worth while to comment: "In 1860, these six States [South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana], containing only 9 6-10 per cent. of the land area of the country and 13 8-10 per cent. of the population, possessed 18 3-10 per cent. of the wealth of the country." The proportion they contained of the land area of the country in 1860 was for practical purposes immaterial. More than one-half of the land area of the country was then virtually unpeopled. If it be true, however, that those States, with less than 14 per cent. of the population, had more than 18 per cent. of the wealth of the country, it is very important, because it shows that almost everybody for the last half-century has been wrong. Every historian who has dealt with the civil war has assumed that the preponderance of the North, great in numbers, was even greater in wealth. If President Davis and his various Secretaries of the Treasury were now alive, would not they rub their eyes on being told by a Southern writer that, man for man, counting negroes as well as whites, the South was in 1860 nearly 40 per cent. richer than the rest of the country? Would they not have some reason to feel that an attack was being made upon their management of the finances of the Southern Confederacy? For there can be no question that, if the South was so much richer than the North, there was no excuse whatever for the condition into which its treasury and its currency came long before the war was ended. How a section with few railroads, with practically no manufactures, with one-half of its population chattel slaves owning nothing, and a very considerable proportion in numbers of the whites then very poor, could really, in some mysterious way, man for man, head for head, have been richer than the rest of the country, we must leave for the economists of the *Manufacturers' Record* to explain.

Now, of course, everybody knows, and in his cool moments the editor of the *Manufacturers' Record* as well as anybody else, that in 1860 the North was very much richer, relatively to population, than the South. He has fallen into the same snare which has enmeshed many an amateur statistician before him. He saw certain figures in the census table, and straightway sought to make comparison of them without stopping to ask whether the way in which the table had been compiled made such comparison possible or not. According to the census of 1860, the true wealth of those six States named was, as the writer in the *Manufacturers' Record* says, 18 3-10 per cent. of the wealth of the country, although those States had only 13 8-10 per cent. of the population. But how was the wealth of these States calculated? Slaves were property. One-half their population was owned by some part of the other half, and a value of some hundreds of dollars a head was put upon this enslaved half of the population; and in that way, and in that way alone, did it come about that the wealth of the South in 1860 appeared from the census figures to be relatively greater than that of the North. A skilled artisan in Ohio was of vastly more value to the community in which he lived as a wealth producer than was a field hand on a plantation in the Alabama Black Belt, but the field hand figures in the return of the wealth of Alabama in 1860 as worth somewhere from $1 000 to $1.500, while the Ohio mechanic was, fortunately for him, not appraised as anybody's property.

If the deputy marshals who took the census of 1860 assumed each slave to be worth on an average $500, slave property would have added about $250 to the apparent per-capita wealth of the entire population of the six States under consideration. According to the census of 1860, the total property in the country, real and personal, including slaves, averaged only $514 per head of the population.

It is not possible to say with precision for how much slaves in these six States figure in the total valuation of the census of 1860. Some facts of great significance in this direction are, however, accessible. Manufactures of any considerable importance being almost unknown in these States (cities and large towns being very few), their wealth must have been largely agricultural; that is to say, their land constituted a larger

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proportion of their total property than was the case in other sections of the country where the diversification of industries promoted and required the accumulation of personal property; yet the census returns point to the directly opposite conclusion. Outside of these six States, the assessed value of real property was nearly twice as great as that of personal property. In these six States the assessed value of personal property was almost twice as great as that of real. Slaves were, of course, considered personalty. In South Carolina and Mississippi, where the slaves were most numerous, the assessed valuation of personalty was about two and a half times as great as that of realty. According to the census figures, the true per-capita valuation of all property in 1860 was, in Mississippi $767 and in South Carolina $779, while in New York it was $475 and in Pennsylvania $487. No one could give a moment's intelligent consideration to such figures and not perceive their utter worthlessness for all comparative purposes. Indeed, outside of the vitiating element of the slave valuations, the table is useless for any purpose of comparison. It is scarcely possible that in 1860 the average inhabitant of Connecticut was nearly 46 per cent. better off than was the resident of Massachusetts; and yet the census of 1860 so states.

## *THE RIGHT TO NEW TRIALS.*

Prof. J. H. Wigmore has an article in the November number of the *Columbia Law Review* in which he discusses the question of granting new trials because of the erroneous admission or exclusion of evidence. He pronounces the existing practice of our courts absurd and dangerous, and insists that it ought to be altered.

The present theory of the courts is that a party is entitled, as of right, to a new trial, whenever it appears by proper exceptions that evidence has been improperly admitted or excluded, the admission or exclusion of which may, *by possibility*, have affected the result as against him. If it is, humanly speaking, impossible to conceive that it did so affect the result, the admission or exclusion is treated as "harmless error," and a new trial is refused. But the limits of harmless error are very narrow. In nine cases out of ten error by the trial judge will vitiate the trial even though the record shows that, with the error disregarded, the result reached by the jury *ought to have been the same*. Mr. Wigmore gives some striking instances. In a case in Alabama, there being a dozen exceptions to rulings on evidence, one of these was found wrong and a new trial was granted, though no substantial prejudice through the rulings was asserted. In a case in California a new trial was granted for error in allowing the prosecution to contradict the defendant on a matter having "no reference whatever to the guilt or innocence of the defendant"; in a case in Nebraska for allowing the contradiction of a witness on an immaterial point; in a case in North Carolina where the whole evidence "warranted conviction"; in Vermont, because counsel in his address said that he knew his clients to be of good reputation, and that this was the best kind of evidence for them. In a late case in the United States Supreme Court, a new trial was granted in a homicide case because, after a "dying declaration" had been properly received in evidence, the error had been committed of admitting a subsequent statement by the deceased that her first declaration was true "in every particular."

The practice is productive of an enormous mulitplication of trials and constant miscarriage of justice. It has produced a notorious abuse in unscrupulous trials of cases "for exceptions"—counsel being employed not to get a verdict, but to trap his opponent into a slip on evidence which will enable him to upset the verdict, however just. In criminal trials it has been carried to such length as to sap public confidence in the administration of justice; in many parts of the country the constant rescue of convicted murderers by appellate courts for trivial error is thought to be ample justification for lynching by mobs without any trial at all.

The abuse can be defended only on one or two theories: either that the party has a legal right to a judicial observance of the rules of evidence *per se*, or that the reverse of the practice would involve a *usurpation* of the function of the jury. The first theory makes the observance of the rules of evidence, instead of a fair verdict, the end of the appeal; but this is the abuse itself, not a justification of it. The second is supported by neither reason nor analogy; the functions of the jury are at every turned exercised subject to the correction and revision of the court. It is everyday practice for an appellate court to confirm a judgment setting aside a verdict as against the weight of evidence, though, if the jury have any function at all, it is the weighing of evidence. In the ordinary case of a non-suit, or verdict for defendant directed by the judge and confirmed on appeal, the party defeated is cut off from the jury altogether, and the case is at an end. Why should the trial be vitiated for erroneous admission or exclusion of evidence if the appellate court is able to say that, even with the error corrected, the jury should rationally have been still bound to render the same verdict?

The practice is among the causes which have long been tending to enfeeble the bench and impair the confidence of the public in the administration of justice. The great democratic wave which swept through the courts and legislatures two generations ago has had effects of which those who swam with it little dreamed. To say nothing of the elective system, which, combined with short terms of office, inevitably tends to make judges timid and subservient, the temper of the time was jealous of judicial power and authority, and every effort was made to limit it. Statutes were passed, for instance, for the express purpose of diminishing the control of judges over verdicts and hedging them about on every side in their relations with juries. Their control over the proceedings in their own courts was taken away from them, and, in the name of simplicity of procedure, the most elaborate codes ever seen were constructed by the Legislature for their government. Under such influences a new ideal of judgeship gradually grew up, which makes the American judge to-day a figure radically different from that of which we have inherited the idea from the past. To succeed, his aim must be, not to develop the administration of justice and uphold the majesty of the law, as the great judges of the past did, but to be, as Mr. Wigmore puts it, merely an umpire of the game of legislation. This tendency was perceived by judges of the older breed fifty years ago. We find Judge Nisbet of Georgia saying in 1852:

> "It is to be feared, in these days of reform, that the judges will be so strictly laced as to lose all power of vigorous and healthful action. I have but little fear of judicial power in Georgia so aggrandizing itself as to endanger any of the powers of other departments of the government; or to endanger the life and liberty of the citizen; or to deprive the jury of their appropriate functions. The danger rather to be dreaded is making the judges men of straw, and thus stripping the courts of popular reverence, and annihilating the popular estimate of the power and sanctity of the law."

The fetish which has been made of the right to new trials is connected with this new phase of judicial development. As the judge's independence and courage are weakened, he inevitably grows fonder of rules which save him from responsibility.

The abuse seems now so imbedded in our jurisprudence that it will prove very difficult to eradicate. Some statutory efforts have been made in this direction, but thus far without much effect. Mr. Wigmore does not cite any cases to show that the right to a new trial on the score of trivial error is a constitutional right, and we know that in England, from which country we have derived all our legal theory on the subject, the abuse seems to have been swept away. Law reform in England has been directed to strengthening the courts, not weakening them, and "in England, to-day, the whole odious practice of misusing the rules of evidence as petty stratagems in litigious tactics has passed away. In the reports

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of decisions there now occur annually not more than five rulings upon points of evidence, as against more than five hundred in the reports of the United States." It seems absurd to suppose that we have gone so far in this country on the wrong road that there is no help for us.

## THE DEDICATION OF THE GERMANIC MUSEUM AT HARVARD.

CAMBRIDGE, November 11, 1903.

The opening of the Germanic Museum, which was dedicated yesterday, may well mark an epoch in American university education, for the Museum has come into existence as a recognition of the fact that not in books alone can the American student of a national civilization find the material he needs for an all-round view of his subject. Much that is most precious a nation or a race does express in words, and the written word remains; but much that is most characteristic it embodies through arts and crafts and customs, in stone or wood, in brick or metal, on canvas or on plaster. The mediæval epics 'Parsifal' and the 'Nibelungenlied' do not surpass the mediæval German cathedrals in either racial or epochal significance; indeed, one may fairly maintain that the higher achievements in poetry, be they epic, lyric, or dramatic, measure the genius of the individual poet rather than that of his race. A people, on the other hand, chose just such a monument of collective effort and taste as a cathedral to embody its ideals.

To bring together under one roof typical specimens of the most important non-literary expressions of the Germanic peoples is accordingly the purpose of this new Harvard museum. Through the eye, it will supplement the usual instruction by books. Eventually it will exhibit not only examples of architecture and sculpture and of the various lesser fine arts, but of tools, vessels, and weapons, together with models of all sorts of dwellings, vehicles, boats, and tombs; so that the visitor may get from it such a clear idea of the beginnings, growth, and range of the Germanic genius as a naturalist can get now of the evolution of animal types by visiting the Synoptic Room at the University Museum.

A museum of this kind is new in America, nor does Germany possess its like; for there the great Nuremberg collection is limited to German objects, whereas the Germanic Museum at Harvard will include all the Teutonic peoples and their descendants, namely, Germans—including those in Austria and in Switzerland—Danes, Dutch, Scandinavians, and Anglo-Saxons. It differs also from the Semitic Museum at Harvard, dedicated less than a year ago, in the important respect that the chief concern of the latter is with ancient peoples and a dead and gone civilization, while the Germanic collections will show the successive stages by which the dominant races of to-day—the German, the English, and the American—have come up out of the past, bringing with them their common Germanic inheritances, which, by mixture of blood, by the intangible moulding of land and climate, and by unlikeness in circumstance and fate, have been widely diversified.

The exercises yesterday were unusually interesting. Rarely can one listen to half a dozen addresses, all focussed on a given point, in which there is so little repetition; more rarely still do so many eminent speakers take part in a single celebration. Prof. H. C. G. von Jagemann, chairman of the German Department, presided, and in his opening remarks told briefly the story of the origin of the Museum. Nearly ten years ago instructors in the department began to discuss the project, which they first set before the public in an appeal printed in the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* in March, 1897. Three years later an association, composed of prominent German-Americans and others, was founded, an active propaganda was begun, and subscriptions were solicited. The project received a cordial endorsement in Germany, where such leaders as Herman Grimm, Mommsen, Virchow, and Harnack took it up; and when the German Emperor, quick to perceive its rich possibilities, announced that he would present to the Museum casts of many of the most striking examples of architecture and sculpture, success was assured. As a handsel of his munificence, Kaiser Wilhelm sent photographs of his intended gifts, which were formally delivered by Prince Henry of Prussia, in March, 1902. The Harvard Corporation had already assigned the Old Gymnasium as a habitation, which has been so skilfully readapted that it serves admirably for the present collection.

The formal presentation of the Kaiser's benefaction was made yesterday by Baron von dem Bussche Haddenhausen, chargé d'affaires of the German embassy, in the absence of Ambassador Speck. He spoke gracefully and tastefully, and concluded by referring to the gift by German scholars of fifty-five galvano-plastik reproductions of the works of German silversmiths from the Middle Age to the eighteenth century, and to the gift by Prof. Archibald C. Coolidge of the history department at Harvard of 10,000 volumes on German history and civilization.

President Eliot responded in behalf of the Corporation, praising the unique act of the Kaiser, which had given a great impulse to the project, and pointing out how welcome to "this society of scholars" are the gift of the scholars of Germany and that of Professor Coolidge. Mr. Eliot gave a rapid history of the growth of museums at Harvard, from which one could perceive how anthropology, in the broadest sense, has claimed more and more attention.

The next speaker, Prof. Kuno Francke, to whose unceasing zeal the Germanic Museum is really due, described enthusiastically several of the purposes which such an institution must serve. He laid particular stress on its being a bond of union among the various studies relating to different phases of national life. It will, in uniting many scholarly interests, counteract the tendency to narrow specialization, since the same specimen may serve to illustrate the investigations of students in different fields. Coming to the concrete, Professor Francke showed, by an analysis of the figures from Naumburg Cathedral, and by a criticism of the equestrian statue of the Great Elector, the sort of use to which the treasures of the Museum can be put.

The Hon. Carl Schurz, President of the Germanic Museum Association, who was now introduced, emphasized the benefits which may be hoped for from this institution by the strengthening of international friendships. Sentiment alone, he said, does not determine political relations, but it counts for much; and at a critical moment even a little friendly sentiment may tip the scales in favor of peace. He denounced in noble language the efforts of "a sensational and unscrupulous press" to stir up an artificial excitement so as to make war appear inevitable between Germany and the United States. Blood is thicker than water; if that truth were kept constantly foremost, the senselessness of such a turmoil as we witnessed last year over the Venezuela affair would have been apparent from the start.

"To my mind," Mr. Schurz said, with memorable solemnity, "there is nothing more abominable, nothing more hideous, nothing more criminal, than the reckless goading of nation against nation for the purpose of disturbing their friendship and peaceful intercourse. It is a crime so infamous that it should put any one guilty of it outside of the social pale of civilized mankind. On the other hand, nothing can be more honorable and blessed than any effort to create and nourish a public spirit abhorring the resort to war, except in case of the most absolute and extreme necessity—a sentiment inspiring a statesmanship bent upon devoting in international policy the keenness of its eye to the discovery, not of the things that irritate and divide, but of the things that conciliate and unite."

Mr. Edward Robinson, Director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, spoke next on the cordial relations that should always exist between the two museums, whose collections should be mutually complementary; and then the exercises closed with a valedictory from Prof. William James, who had been requested, he said, to act as spokesman for the general body of teachers in the University. After the listening to much that was weighty or properly formal and didactic, his epilogue, abounding in irony and humor, was especially delightful. He began by referring to the background which a university with so many diverse interests as flourish at Harvard furnishes for each dweller in the academic circle; and went on, in half-playful vein, to specify the virtues and vices of German scholarship, in characteristic sentences, which considerations of space forbid me to quote. The effect of his address was electric. Thanks to its wit, the audience broke up still fresh after listening to nearly two hours of speaking.

The audience itself might justify a separate letter. It filled the New Lecture Hall, and comprised not only nearly all the notabilities of the University and distinguished persons from Greater Boston, but also representatives of other colleges and guests from many parts of the country. They had ample opportunity to inspect the Germanic Museum, which is already so well stocked that it is worth a day's journey to see; and in the evening at Sanders Theatre they attended the performance by Herr Heinrich Conried's New York company of three German plays—Hans Sachs's "Der Fahrende Schuler im Paradies," Goethe's "Die Geschwister," and Fulda's "Unter Vier Augen."

The celebration and the Museum itself are a tribute to the persuasive enthusiasm of Prof. Kuno Francke, who has labored for the project both here and in Germany and in Switzerland, and has had the good fortune to see it so soon realized. As President Eliot remarked, the establishment of this Germanic Museum will doubtless lead

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to the founding at Harvard of similar institutions for the study of Italic and Gallic civilizations. WILLIAM R. THAYER.

# Correspondence.

## THE GREATEST COUNTRY ON EARTH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Thoughtful citizens East, West, North, and South must acknowledge with bowed heads the truth of your statement in last week's issue, relative to the Panama affair, that "President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay have thrown American principles to the winds, and have committed the country to a policy which is ignoble beyond words." This out-Philippines the Philippine iniquity. One is compelled to fear with Hosea Biglow that

> "Th' ain't no futur' for the man nor state
> Thet out of j-u-s-t can't spell great."

C. H. PRESTON.

DAVENPORT, IOWA, November 14, 1903.

## THE MORAL OF TAMMANY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The recent success of Tammany in New York city presents once more an ever-recurring problem to the political idealist. The voters of the metropolis of the United States, it would seem, either deliberately prefer a rotten government, or they are unable to distinguish good from bad. The history of the race belies the former supposition; but to a man who has not entirely lost faith in human nature, a candid survey of municipal government in America would seem to prove the latter. By superhuman effort and united action, and under stress of shame, the intelligent and self-respecting element in the community can persuade enough lax and ignorant voters to throw their potent influence in favor of good government once in a while. But poor, weak human nature cannot be counted on to fight a Lexington or a Concord too often. A political system under which decent municipal government is only occasionally possible would seem to the detached mind at least signally defective. In the meanwhile, it is interesting for the student of political science to observe and note how many blows in the head with a cold chisel and sledge hammer our political idealists must have before they can get it into their skulls that universal suffrage under existing conditions in America is a lamentable failure. E. L. C. M.

CHICAGO, November 9, 1903.

## FRANKLIN'S OXFORD DEGREE—A CORRECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I regret that your correspondent "D.," who furnished, in your issue of June 25, a record of the convocation of April 30, 1762, at which Dr. Franklin was admitted a D.C.L., was, from ignorance of Oxford procedure, moved to draw erroneous inferences as to what took place on that occasion. As these inferences, though of so absurd a nature as to move any one who knows Oxford to laugh outright, might possibly mislead some Americans, and even disfigure future biographies, may I crave space to make the necessary corrections?

"D." would seem to have persuaded himself that the proceedings of that convocation were purposely arranged with "malice prepense," so as not "to do any more honor to Franklin than they were obliged to," and that, in particular, "the natural and proper claims of father and son" were maliciously reversed by providing for Dr. Franklin's son an "escort" of greater honor than for the father! As Franklin was at the time a distinguished, loyal British subject of whom Britain was proud, and of whom the University of Oxford was, of its own accord, showing its appreciation by conferring upon him its highest and much-coveted honor, it is extraordinary that any one could imagine the University stultifying itself by such silly behavior, or could describe the voluntary act of the University as something "they were obliged to"! By whom obliged, forsooth? But the whole hypothetical fabric tumbles to the ground in presence of the simple fact that the procedure on the occasion was precisely the same as on every occasion when honorary degrees are conferred by decree of convocation. "D." is entirely in error in supposing that any special "escort" is appointed on such occasions, and that the selection of this imaginary "escort" has reference to the estimation in which the University holds the recipient of the honorary degree. There is for each faculty an official, whose standing duty it is, in person or by deputy, to introduce the recipient, be he king or kaiser, general or ambassador, poet, philosopher, or South African empire-builder. At the time in question the University gave (besides D.D.) only two honorary degrees, those of D.C.L. and M.A. The recipient of the higher or D.C.L. degree was, as he still is, introduced in a Latin oration by the head of that faculty, the Regius Professor of Civil Law, or (in his absence or illness) by his deputy, while the recipient of the inferior distinction of an honorary M.A. degree was, as he still is, introduced in a Latin speech by the Public Orator (in his capacity of M.A.), or his deputy.

These proceedings were, of course, carried out in the case of the Franklins just as in the case of every one else, before or after. Benjamin Franklin was duly introduced, in the indisposition or absence of the Regius Professor of Civil Law, Thomas Jenner, D.C.L., by his deputy, William Seward, D.C.L., whose Latin oration appears to have been altogether worthy of the occasion; while the younger Franklin (whose honorary M.A. was, of course, intended as an additional compliment to his distinguished father) was presented by the Public Orator, as every honorary M.A. is to this day. Indeed, but for the notable and interesting fact of father and son receiving the higher and lower degrees together—a circumstance, I should think, almost without parallel in the history of Oxford—there was nothing to distinguish the conferment of these degrees from any other conferment of honorary degrees for which a special convocation is held. The personal rank, scholarship, or distinction of the officer of the University whose official duty it is to introduce the graduands, has nothing whatever to do with the matter. At the present moment the Public Orator who presents M.A.'s happens to be the rector of Lincoln College, who in a short time will himself be vice-chancellor, while the Regius Professor of Civil Law, who presents men for the D.C.L. degree, is Dr. Goudy, fellow of All Souls', the successor of the Right Hon. James Bryce. The recipient of an honorary D.Litt. degree is presented by the Professor of Greek (or his deputy) as senior professor of the faculty of arts, while an honorary D.Sc. is presented by the senior Professor of Physical Science. But Oxford would laugh consumedly to be told that the comparative honor of a D.C.L., a D.Litt., a D.Sc., or an M.A. degree is measured by the consideration whether Dr. Merry or Professor Goudy, Professor Bywater or Professor Love, is the more distinguished member of the University!

May I point out that the extract communicated by "D." is not the original, but an imperfect rendering of the Latin record by some one of uncertain scholarship in academic Latin? I subjoin the Latin original from a certified copy, kindly furnished by the keeper of the Archives, a comparison of which with "D.'s" version will be found instructive. There is, of course, no such personage as the "Lord Vice-Chancellor"—*Dominus Vice-Cancellarius* is in plain English "Mr. Vice-Chancellor." The labelling of the Rev. William Seward as *Dominus*, on which "D." remarks, does not mean anything more. There is no such Oxford degree as M.C.L. with which "D." credits Thomas Bever, fellow of All Souls. "The most distinguished of young men" would hardly pass with a second-form boy for a translation of *ornatissimum juvenem*, and he would hardly render the plural *bedellis* by "the beadle," if he had once seen the stately procession of esquire and yeomen bedells, or mace-bearers, who carry the gold and silver "pokers" in front of the doctors elect! And surely everybody from China to Peru, who has heard of Oxford, knows that the *Procuratores*, the Executive of the University, are not "heads of colleges" (save the mark!). The giving of degrees is a function of the University, not of the colleges or their heads.

I should be sorry to impute to "D." the *malice prepense* which, in his concluding paragraph, he has so mistakenly attributed to Oxford; but I may be allowed to express the regret that one whose knowledge of the matter is so inadequate should have taken upon himself to draw inferences *in malam partem* from his own disordered notions of the facts, and have tried to give so ignoble an aspect to a proceeding of which Oxford and America may alike be proud.

JAMES A. H. MURRAY.

OXFORD, October 31, 1903.

Term
Paschatis Dño Dre Browne Vice Cancellario
1762

Die Ven. viz Tricesimo Die Mensis Aprilis Anno Dom. 1762 Causa Convocationis erat ut Ornatissimus Vir Benjaminus Franklin Armiger, Provinciæ Pensylvaniæ Deputatus, ad Curiam Serenissimi Regis Legatus, Tabellariorum per Americam Septentrionalem Præfectus Generalis, necnon Regiæ Societatis Socius (si ità Venerabili Cœtui placeret) ad Gradum Doctoris in Jure Civili, et Gulielmus Franklin Armiger Juris Municipalis Consultus ad Gradum Magistri in Artibus admitterentur, necnon, &c. &c. [the usual clause to admit of any other business]. Causa Convocationis sic indicta, proponente singillatim Domino Vice-Cancellario, placuit Venerabili Cœtui ut prædictus Ornatissimus Vir Benjaminus Franklin Armiger ad Gradum Doctoris in Jure Civili, et

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Gulielmus Franklin Armiger ad Gradum Magistri in Artibus, Honoris Causa admitterentur.

Spectatissimum Virum Benjaminum Franklin Armigerum præeuntibus Bedellis in Domum Convocationis ingressum Dextraque prehensum Dñus Dñ Seward Collegii Divi Joannis Baptistæ Socius sub eleganti Orationis Formula Dño Vice-Cancellario et Procuratoribus præsentabat ut ad Gradum Doctoris in Jure Civili Honoris Causa admitteretur. Quemque hoc modo præsentatum Dñus Vice-Cancellarius sua et totius Universitatis authoritate ad dictum Gradum Honoris Causa solemniter admisit.

Ornatis-imum Juvenem Gulielmum Franklin Armigerum a Thóma Nowel A.M. Collegii Orielensis Socio et Publico Oratore similiter præsentatum Dñus Vice Cancellarius ad Gradum Magistri in Artibus similiter admisit.

# Notes.

'The Rogerines: Some Hithérto Unpublished Annals belonging to the Colonial History of Connecticut,' is a work inviting subscriptions; the first part, "A Vindication," in seven chapters, being by John R. Bolles, and the second, the History of this nonconformist society of the seventeenth century, being by Anna B. Williams, who should be addressed by would-be subscribers at No. 82 Walnut Street, Springfield, Mass.

Miss A. E. White, No. 18 West Sixty-ninth Street, New York, invites subscriptions to 'A Book of Bryn Mawr Verses,' to be published about New Year's.

Fournier's 'Life of Napoleon,' translated under the editorship of Prof. E. G. Bourne of Yale, is in the press of Henry Holt & Co.

The Outlook Co. announce 'A Preacher's Story of his Work,' by Dr. W. S. Rainsford, and 'The Story of a Labor Agitator,' by Joseph R. Buchanan.

The Imperial Press, Cleveland, will publish directly Prof. John B. McMaster's lectures delivered last spring at the Western Reserve University on 'The Acquisition of Political, Social and Industrial Rights of Man in America.'

The Robert Clarke Company of Cincinnati will soon bring out a book on 'The Graal Problem: From Walter Map to Richard Wagner,' by J. S. Tunison, the author of 'Master Virgil.'

We learn that Mr. J. E. Spingarn's 'History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance' is being translated into Italian by Dr. Antonio Fusco of Naples. Benedetto Croce will supply an introduction.

The feature of novelty in the new issue of the 'American Jewish Year Book' (for A. M. 5664 = A. D. 1903-4) is a biographical list (68 pp.) of rabbis and cantors officiating in the United States. Incomplete as it evidently, almost necessarily, is, it should prove most useful.

The activity of Mr. Thomas B. Mosher of Portland, Maine, in reproducing with a taste somewhat *recherché* the literary classics of the mother country, in whole or fragmentarily, but always in dainty and handy form, is well known. A little troop of these companionable booklets has joined the swarm of greater on our table. There is an "Old World Series," exemplified by James Thomson's 'City of Dreadful Night,' Browning's "Pompilia,' and Fiona Macleod's 'Deirdré.' A parallel series, not specially designated, contains this last author's 'The Divine Adventure,' W. B. Yeats's 'The Land of Heart's Desire,' Arthur Symons's 'Lyrics,' and W. E. Henley's 'In Hospital.' A smaller set embraces Andrew Lang's 'Aucassin and Nicolete,' Mrs. Browning's 'Sonnets from the Portuguese,' Swinburne's 'Laus Veneris,' Stevenson's 'Aes Triplex,' and 'Richard Jefferies's 'A Little Book of Nature Thoughts.' These illustrate very well the cast of Mr. Mosher's net.

Only the eyes of youth could attack undaunted the 'Complete Works of Edmund Spenser' condensed within 900 pages and published in a showy binding by T. Y. Crowell & Co. For adults moved by the need of glasses or by the fear of them, the bait is a brief introduction by Prof. W. P. Trent. Here the type is bolder, but none too bold.

We were scarcely prepared for the Scott-Thaw limited reissue of the tiny Bell-Macmillan 1898 edition of Holbein's 'Dance of Death,' with Austin Dobson's introductory note. The text has been reset verbatim in this country, the form has been elongated about two inches, and Japanese vellum has been exchanged for paper, ensuring a clear but less sympathetic impression. The cuts are identical. Rubricated titles assist the general pleasing effect. Mr. Dobson's note, however, is sadly antiquated. He argues that the designs are Holbein's because in his manner; but meanwhile and very recently the original drawings have come upon the market, and examination shows that they are by more than one hand. Further, it is seen that the copies on the wood were not line for line, some of the drawings being in wash, others in wash and line, and others still in pure line. And again, it is demonstrable that the designer was not always, and hence possibly not at all, the draughtsman for the wood-engraver. In short, hereafter, nobody ought to discuss the woodcuts of the Lyons edition of 1538 except in comparison with the drawings, as has never happened for the whole series. Both sets ought to be reproduced in collotype. The Douce cuts here given for the third time are valuable chiefly as memoranda, not being minute facsimiles of the Lyons originals.

In 'My Favorite Book-Shelf' (San Francisco: P. Elder & Co.), Mr. Charles Josselyn has reprinted passages that he particularly admires from authors of wide repute, from Montaigne to "Ouida." Those who also admire these passages can read them here in elegant typography and binding.

In two handsomely printed and attractive volumes Mr. Sherwin Cody has given the public 'The Best Tales of Edgar Allan Poe' and 'The Best Poems and Essays' of the same author (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.), accompanied by a sketch of the poet's life, and brief but intelligent critical introductions.

We have for some time noted with satisfaction a growing disposition on the part of publishers to bring out new and handsome editions at moderate prices of old and approved books, and we should be glad to believe that this is a sign of a reaction in the public taste against the crude stuff that has been pouring in such a torrent from the presses. No better book could have been chosen for reproduction than the delightful 'Autobiography of Leigh Hunt' (edited by Roger Ingpen, in two volumes—E. P. Dutton & Co.). Other autobiographies may bring before us more important persons, or place us in the midst of more stirring events; but few, if any, are so candid, so free from all self-absorption, so innocent of posing, so charming in style, or which so endear the subject to the reader. But a book so well known—which drew from even the splenetic Carlyle the comment, "I call this an excellent good book, by far the best of the autobiographic kind I remember to have read in the English language; and, indeed, except it be Boswell's of Johnson, I do not know where we have such a picture drawn of a human life as is in these volumes"—can well dispense with eulogy from us. The work is enriched with portraits of unusually delicate finish, is printed in attractive type, and clothed in a very tasteful binding, so as to be an ornament as well as a treasure to any library.

The Rev. Paul R. Frothingham's 'William Ellery Channing' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is a sermon-study of the great liberal preacher and philanthropist, and is substantially the sermon preached by Mr. Frothingham at the unveiling of the statue of Dr. Channing in Boston, June 1, 1903, the hundredth anniversary of Channing's installation as minister of the Federal Street Society. It is of much higher character than the ordinary commemoration discourse, indulging in no fulsome eulogy, but distinguished by sincere appreciation. Here is the quintessential Channing, the various energies and aspirations of the man exhibited in their just proportion; a nice acquaintance being shown with the whole range of Channing's works, and with the biographical material that has accumulated in the course of Channing's posthumous career.

'The Young Pretender,' by Mr. C. S. Terry (Dutton), is an unassuming but satisfactory life of Charles Edward, which is well printed, and is published at a very reasonable price. Little more need be said about it than that the main sources used are already familiar to readers of Stuart literature—with the possible exception of the Egerton letters of James III., which were published by Mr. Terry in the *English Historical Review* (July, 1901). Mr. Lang's life of Charles Edward in the Goupil series has been placed under heavy contribution, but all indebtedness is frankly acknowledged. Though popular in form, this sketch is based on original authorities, and possesses a great deal of the vivacity which the subject demands.

Mr. I. A. Taylor's 'Sir Walter Raleigh' (Dutton) wears precisely the same garb as Mr. Terry's 'Young Pretender,' and is marked by the same general characteristics. Less indebted to any one book than Mr. Terry is to Lang's 'Charles Edward,' Mr. Taylor draws his material from a wide area, and has done more than coördinate the numerous lives of Raleigh which already exist. As every one knows, this paragon of cleverness and grace had some unpleasant qualities in common with the average greedy Englishman of the Tudor period. Mr. Taylor inclines to pass over the shortcomings and to accentuate the brilliance; but the sketch is so short that it cannot be expected to sift evidence minutely. According to Stevenson, "God has made nobler heroes, but he never made a finer gentleman than Walter Raleigh." Mr. Taylor is not an iconoclast, and apparently rests content with the popular verdict.

'The Regency of Marie de Médicis,' by Dr. A. P. Lord (Holt), is a short monograph which centres round the persons of Sully, Concini, and Condé. The author says, in his preface: "The withdrawal of

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the Duc de Sully from affairs some months after the death of Henry IV. has always seemed to me a subject inviting more attention and research than has been given it in these days. It was a momentous step for him to take, and fraught with the most far-reaching results for France." But this is only one of Dr. Lord's subjects. The struggle between the Queen and Condé receives quite as much attention as is devoted to Sully's disgrace, and the circumstances of Concini's death are also examined with considerable care. Any study of French history which deals with the six years between Henry IV.'s assassination and the assassination of Concini is bound to find its main interest in the court intrigues of that shameful time. Dr. Lord has made himself sufficiently familiar with the memoirs of the period, and his narrative, while not going very far below the surface, gives a clear account of personal rivalries. The two most striking features of the volume are its insistence upon the diplomatic cleverness of the Queen Regent, and its delineation of the plot which was hatched by the Comte de Soissons and Concini for Sully's dismissal from office.

'A History of French Versification,' by L. E. Kastner of Owens College, Manchester (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde), is a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject as it presents in a clear and systematic form all that it is really important for the average student of French prosody to know. Within the moderate limits of his volume of 300 pages, the author has managed to compress so much useful and accurate information, and to present it in so clear and interesting a form, that he deserves both thanks and praise. After stating very simply the principles of French versification, he proceeds to study the component parts, the syllabism, the rhyme, the cæsura, the overflow, supporting his statements by numerous and remarkably well-chosen examples and selections from the poets. The metrical line is very fully treated, and particularly interesting and illuminating are the chapters on "The Strophe" and "Certain Fixed Forms." A full bibliography adds considerably to the value of this excellent book.

There are still singers in Israel, and among the French Canadians of Lowell, Mass., one is making himself heard. A disciple of the Symbolists, but yet more of the Parnassians, Mr. J. H. Roy, in his 'Voix Étranges' (Lowell: L'Étoile, Lepine & Co.), offers some poems of undoubted worth, together with many mediocre ones. His originality is not very great nor very striking, yet he gives fair proof of poetic talent, and, with a restricted output and more patience in the fashioning of his verse, he ought to turn out pieces not unworthy of the appreciation of critics. "Le Gueux," "Aux Temps bibliques," and "L'Inconnu"—all save the last line of the latter—are good work, with a breadth and a color that recall his great masters Hugo and Leconte de Lisle.

M. Maurice Souriau of the University of Caen has published a very full account of 'The Literary Movement in Normandy from 1898 to 1902' (Caen: L. Jouan). The perusal of the booklet brings before the reader the names, among others, of Mme. Octave Feuillet, René Bazin, Léopold Mabilleau, well known in the United States as a lecturer and a thinker, and of M. Souriau himself. Assuredly, the Normans have no reason to be ashamed of the literary production to which their province has given birth.

In an article descriptive of the Wrangell Mountains in Alaska, in the *National Geographic Magazine* for November, Mr. W. C. Mendenhall commends this region to the attention of our mountaineering clubs. Containing the only active volcano in the interior of the continent north of Mexico, it offers many attractive problems to those interested in physical geography or geology and the allied sciences—especially, unique problems of vulcanism and glaciation. The paper is illustrated by some striking photographs, as are also the brief accounts of the rubber plantations of Mexico and Central America and the Ziegler Polar Expedition. Mr. C. H. Burritt describes the work of the Mining Bureau of the Philippine Islands, of which he is chief, and urgently recommends its reorganization, so that it may "take up the work of (a) geological and mineralogical surveys and studies, and (b) the promotion and encouragement of the mining industries." A notice of this season's explorations in the northwest Himalayas, by Dr. W. H. Workman and his wife, states that they have surpassed their previous ascents. The lady reached the summit of a peak 22,568 feet in height and made the highest record for women, while her husband climbed to an elevation of 23,394 feet, which gives him the world's record for men.

The principal contents of *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, number nine, are accounts of an exploration of that part of the Great Rift valley lying between Abyssinia and Lake Stefanie, and of the International Association for the study of earthquakes founded at the recent congress of seismologists held at Strassburg. The constitution is given, and the proposed methods of observation explained. Delegates were present from twenty countries, including two from Japan. Prof. H. F. Reid of Johns Hopkins represented this country. The stability of the population of Europe is strikingly shown by a study of the census returns of the German Empire, the centre of gravity of whose population (*Bevölkerungsschwerpunkt*) has moved only some six miles north by eight miles east since 1816. It is in the Province of Saxony, about twenty miles southwest of Halle. "Westward the course of empire" does not hold true for the German.

In our notice of Mommsen last week, we trust most of our readers corrected, in the middle of the second paragraph, "Mommsen has done for Roman *private* law" into "public;" an oversight of the press.

—Volume VI. of 'The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898,' as its title now reads (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clarke Co.), covers the period 1538-1588, and includes documents having a very wide range of interest. Jealousy between ecclesiastics and laymen again appears in numerous instances; as does jealousy between the soldiers still remaining from the conquests under Legaspi and the new officials sent over from Spain or Mexico. The decree founding the Audiencia (Supreme Court) in 1583 is concluded, and under 1586 fall a string of documents containing protests to Philip II.'s Council of the Indies against the new Audiencia, as too burdensome for the struggling young colony, still properly in its conquest period (as shown by many references in these documents to the relatively few converts yet made, the small number of missionaries, the few Spanish settlements, etc., for which thus far, it appears, Philip II. had spent 3,000,000 pesos, through Mexico). This protest against the Audiencia is only one part of a long memorial to the Council of the Indies from all the estates in Manila, ecclesiastical, political, and military (signed even by the members of the Audiencia themselves), reciting in great detail the status of affairs in the islands in 1586 and suggesting reforms. Various private letters support it in part, and reveal that the document was a sort of compromise between the various struggling factions, who could yet unite on the main points and could also present to the king a dazzling project for conquering all China. It appears, from a decree issued at the request of merchants in Spain, that China was getting altogether the best of the annual trade, taking 300,000 pesos of Spain's hard money annually and destroying, with her lighter silks, etc., Spain's market in Mexico and Peru. Seventy-five pages of this volume are also given up to selections from Father Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza's history of China as approached through the Philippines from 1576 to 1584 by Spanish friars, and there are two plates representing the title-pages of two books of this history, from the Madrigal (second) edition of 1586 in the Library of Congress. The other illustration of this volume is the facsimile reproduction of the end of an old manuscript in the Seville archives, with the signature of Father Sanchez, the Jesuit sent as delegate to the Council of the Indies to present the memorial above mentioned.

—'Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte, from the French of F. de Bourrienne' (Stokes), is not in any exact sense a translation of Bourrienne's 'Memoirs.' The ten volumes of the original have been compressed into one, with the help of very small type and very courageous abridgment. The title-page informs us that the text is "newly edited, with notes," but the notes (such as they are) cannot have cost the editor much trouble. Except for the interpolation of a few passages from other works, he seems to have taken his duties light-heartedly; nor can we find that the interpolations themselves are of great value. A brief and unsigned preface tells us that "no one can read these Memoirs without being convinced of the truth of the narrative, or fail afterwards in forming a perfect estimate of the personal character of Napoleon. The only work in our language which bears any comparison with the present in its graphic delineation of character is Boswell's 'Life of Johnson.'" Such a statement requires little comment from the reviewer. If the editor thinks that internal evidence substantiates the truthfulness of Bourrienne's narrative, what light does he think is thrown on the problem by external evidence? Bourrienne was not a man to write an accurate life of any one with whom he had ever had personal dealings. Nothing is said by the present editor of his character and career. His peculations and his disgrace are passed over without a word. Before stating that the truth of the narrative is obvious, the editor should have investigated the part that was taken in its preparation by Villemarest. He should also have consulted 'Bourrienne et ses Erreurs,'

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to which Boulay de la Meurthe contributed as far back as 1830. In fine, it is impossible to praise this book as a piece either of editing or of abridgment.

—Mr. Arthur Hassall's 'Mazarin' in the "Foreign Statesmen" series (Macmillan) is marked by a strong note of admiration. It is easy to disparage this Italian adventurer who became the real ruler of France during Louis XIV.'s minority, but the fact remains that he left his adopted country more powerful than it had been on the death of Richelieu. Rejecting Michelet's estimate altogether, Mr. Hassall will not admit that Mazarin deserves to be styled "an unprincipled actor, libertine, and gambler, who subordinated every question of state to the meanest regard for his personal interests." Neither is he willing to accept the contemporary testimony of the *Mazarinades*, vitiated as they are by the animosities of the Fronde. The best modern authority in France for the career of Mazarin is M. Chéruel, whose seven volumes contain all the essential materials and tend to justify Richelieu's choice of his successor. Mr. Hassall accepts M. Chéruel's appreciation of Mazarin with little modification, and the Cardinal is here made to appear "an indefatigable and patriotic minister, whose fame principally rests upon his success in making France illustrious by her victories and diplomatic triumphs, and in leaving her on his death the leading power in Europe." Mazarin's preëminent talents were those of diplomacy, and Mr. Hassall is mainly concerned with his career as foreign minister. Like Richelieu, he had little talent for finance, and his accumulation of a vast fortune does not represent business ability in the ordinary sense of the term. The opinion that he was ready to sell France if the payment found its way to him, must be discarded in the light of M. Chéruel's researches. He was avaricious, but he possessed more patriotism than many of the French nobles—more, for instance, than the hero of Rocroi. Mr. Hassall endeavors to define Mazarin's position by comparing him with Disraeli, whose patriotism was undoubted, and who succeeded in overcoming the personal unpopularity of his early years. This book would have been more generally interesting if the author had not been forced to keep so closely to the details of diplomacy; but it is not Mr. Hassall's fault that Mazarin was a negotiator rather than a man of action.

—The third volume of papers read before the Massachusetts Military Historical Society (Boston, 1903) contains seventeen discussions of the operations of the Army of the Potomac and two or three of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia, from the autumn of 1862 to the winter of 1863, when both opponents went into winter quarters. All of the papers are by active participants in some portion of these campaigns, and all illuminate many dark problems of the activities of the two years. Of the seventeen, three, by the late Gen. Francis W. Palfrey, Lieut.-Colonel (now General) George B. Davis, and the late Col. William Allan of the C. S. A., treat of Antietam; General Palfrey's paper being a sort of supplement to and corrective of his volume upon 'The Antietam and Fredericksburg' in the Scribner series of "Campaigns of the Civil War." Fredericksburg and its preliminaries are discussed by the late Gen. William F. Smith and Colonel Allan; Chancellorsville has four presentations from varied points of view, by Maj. James F. Huntington, Col. Theodore A. Dodge, Gen. Alexander S. Webb, and Capt. John Bigelow. The larger number of the papers are upon the Gettysburg campaign, consisting of three by Colonel Davis, two by Gen. Greely S. Curtis (all of these upon the general strategy of the battle); an account of Ewell's attack upon Culp's and East Cemetery Hill, by Captain Edward N. Whittier; the story of Pickett's charge, by Col. William R. Driver; and Colonel Allan's view of the battle and its results from the Southern aspect. There is a good map of Eastern Virginia and an ample index.

—General Webb's contribution is devoted to a vindication of the conduct of Meade, with his Fifth Corps, at Chancellorsville, against certain (largely anonymous) charges of refusal to send his command into critical parts of the fight—charges which were apparently meant to reflect upon his ability or courage in his more conspicuous duty at Gettysburg. General Webb makes clear that Meade was recognized by the majority of his associate corps commanders upon the Chancellorsville field as the most competent officer on the ground to bring order and victory out of the irresolution and lack of purpose into which affairs had drifted under Hooker; and that, far from being slow to push his men into fight, he was positively restrained from action by Hooker, although he chafed intensely under this refusal of his superior officer to take any steps to redeem the campaign from shameful disaster. As to whether Meade should have attacked Lee at Williamsport after Gettysburg, there is the same difference of judgment expressed by the critics in this book as has hitherto been shown in histories of the campaign. Colonel Allan, from the Confederate standpoint, is persuaded that Lee would have been pleased to receive a trial of his entrenched lines by his adversary; while Colonel Davis expresses the opinion which impartial military judges will, in our opinion, be likely to hold, that a possible great opportunity to crush the Confederate cause was refused under excessive apprehension of the consequences of defeat by the assailants. In war there must be hazardous ventures in which loss of life is secondary to the gaining of invaluable time and the chances of a vital success. At other times the lack of resolution "to make or break" snatched victory from our arms, as General Palfrey's paper shows was the case upon both flanks at Antietam, where the Confederates were several times upon the point of rout when the Union attack was suspended.

—Mr. C. A. Dinsmore's 'Aids to the Study of Dante' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is a book of an entirely different character from his 'Teachings of Dante,' which appeared two years ago. The earlier work may be described as the reflections of a clergyman on his first perusal of the 'Divine Comedy'; the present volume, the fruit of extensive study, is a text-book, a compilation, the result of an attempt to include within handy compass all the extraneous information that an ordinary reader of Dante will need. This project has been carried out intelligently and successfully, and the book ought to render substantial service to students who have not ready access to a large library. The early biographies of Dante are reprinted from already existing English versions (and not in the original text, as they are in Zenatti's recent 'Dante e Firenze'); the poet's times, life, personal appearance, character, and purpose are discussed in well-chosen extracts from Church, Lowell, Norton, and Moore; an analysis of his works and the essentials of an exegesis of the 'Vita Nuova' and the 'Commedia' are furnished by passages from the same authors and from Witte, Gaspary, Comparetti, Scartazzini, Gardner, Wicksteed, Federn, Bryce and Saintsbury. It will be seen that Mr. Dinsmore has, in the main used good authorities, although the absence of Italian commentators can hardly fail to arouse some misgivings. He himself deals briefly with "Lyrical Poetry before the Time of Dante" and "The Paradiso"; in the former treatise he follows Gaspary, in the latter he draws upon his own 'Teachings of Dante.' The minor works scarcely receive their due, and the unattached lyrics are omitted altogether. Otherwise the book is well proportioned and systematically arranged. Several portraits and diagrams add to its attractiveness and utility. The least satisfactory part is that called "The Moral Teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas," which consists of a few pages of Rickaby's translations from the 'Summa.'

—An important study of Lactantius and his times is that by R. Pichon ('Lactance'; Paris: Hachette). The work is dedicated, significantly, to Gaston Boissier and Ferdinand Brunetière. To the one the author acknowledges immediate inspiration for his theme; to the other, the reader feels, are partly due the freshness, penetration, and literary horizon conspicuous in the book from first to last. M. Pichon gleans a corner of the field which M. Boissier, in his admirable work, 'La Fin du Paganisme,' was forced to pass by. Lactantius, indeed, belongs with the period immediately preceding the death throes of paganism; he is a halfway mark, standing between the apologetes of the third century and the theologians of the fourth. Lactantius's great aim is to interpret Christianity to the cultured classes; he seasons his apologetics with philosophy, and clothes it in a Ciceronian style; he seeks, above all, to prove that Christianity is not subversive of that temporal order which was symbolized for ever, as then it seemed, by the Roman Empire. These several aspects of Lactantius's programme—his philosophy, his theology, his regard for classic style, his political views—M. Pichon examines in turn. He finds that his author, not a striking personality in himself, is for this reason a more trustworthy index of his times; without the depth of St. Augustine or the versatility of St. Jerome, Lactantius is a better model of that sane and inclusive Christian humanism which was the peculiar product of the age. Of the many interesting matters treated in this work, the most important is the discussion of the 'De Mortibus Persecutorum.' M. Pichon settles beyond cavil that the treatise is genuine; he also regards it not only as an indispensable historical source, but also as the first attempt in Latin literature at a philosophy of history.

—At the first meeting in this academic year of the Oxford Philological Society, Dr.

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Grenfell read a paper on recent literary discoveries at Oxyrhynchus, with especial reference to a new epitome of Livy, XLVII.—LV., written by one palpably more interested in chronology and also in domestic Roman politics than was the author of the epitome of these books already in the possession of scholars. Hence several new events are revealed, throwing much needed light, for instance, on the war in Spain against Viriathus and on the circumstances of his death. To archæologists the statement is new that Mummius distributed some of the statues he had plundered among cities in Achæa and in various Italian cities. Apart from this epitome of Livy, Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt have in readiness for the forthcoming volume of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Græco-Roman branch) a whole treasury of remarkable finds. They have secured a very long fragment of the 'Logia' of Jesus, which includes the beginning of the collection, and answers several questions raised apropos of the first fragment of 'Sayings.' A portion of the argument of a play of Cratinus, the "Dionysalexandros," proves the Alexander involved to have certainly been Paris, and the play by Cratinus the elder. Besides fragments of Homer, Demosthenes, and Xenophon ('Cyropædia'), there is a specimen of the Pindaric Parthenia. Altogether, Dr. Grenfell's paper was pronounced one of the most important communications ever made in our time to any learned society. It is remarkable, nevertheless, that nothing really of the first rank has yet been discovered. This is emphatically true of the new 'Sayings' of Jesus. They are curious rather than genuinely important. It is easy to see why they were excluded from the Gospels.

## A BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATOR.

*My Colonial Service.* By Sir George William Des Voeux, G.C.M.G. 2 vols. London: Murray; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

This is the work of an educated English gentleman who, wherever he went, at home and abroad (and he was a much travelled man), had the entrée into the best society. His two volumes abound in good stories, and there are many notices that will be interesting to the student of natural history, resulting from the observations of Sir William Des Voeux when, in early life, he made journeys into the interior parts of British Guiana. The general reader will be likely to skip the extracts from diaries and private letters which are plentifully strewn over the volumes; but, to the student of the government of colonies, these living records will be of high value, as they show the Colonial Administrator at his daily work; under the microscope, as it were.

One of the youngest sons of a younger son of a family in the baronetage, Sir William Des Voeux was educated at Charterhouse School, and at Balliol College, Oxford, when Jowett was "The Master." For the energies of younger sons who have to make their own way in the world, Great Britain is provided with a safety-valve in India and the colonies. To Canada young Des Voeux went, in 1856. Giving up his first intention of farming, he turned to the law, and was duly called to the Canadian bar in 1861. He started the practice of his profession in partnership with Mr. Strong, who since 1892 has been Chief Justice of Canada, and is now the Rt. Hon. Sir Samuel Henry Strong, Privy Councillor of Great Britain. To Des Voeux the solicitor's part of the business, which principally fell to his share, was always repulsive, and it now became more objectionable than ever. He was glad to get out of professional practice by accepting an appointment as a magistrate in British Guiana. During his stay in Canada Sir William received much kindness and made many friends. He had, moreover, at intervals visited the United States—both North and South—and he records with pleasure the kindness he received, from President Buchanan at the White House downwards.

Assuming his duties as a stipendiary magistrate in British Guiana at Christmas-time in 1863, Sir William did much travelling into the back lands of that country, whose territory covers an area of over 100,000 square miles. This he thoroughly enjoyed. But he was not always stationed in a district which gave him such pleasant opportunities of wandering in the wilds. He did duty in districts within the civilized portions of the colony. It was while so employed that he formed the opinion that the East Indian immigrants, imported under the indenture system to labor on sugar plantations, were not fairly treated. His convictions in this regard were put into a memorial to the Secretary of State, then Lord Granville, with such fervor that the London *Times* described the document as the severest indictment of public officers "since Hastings was impeached for tyranny over the lord of the holy city of Benares and over the ladies of the princely house of Oude." The British Government sent out a commission of inquiry to the colony, which pursued its investigations for some months in 1870 and 1871. Much improvement in the system dates from that time, and the East Indian immigration system of British Guiana is now so conducted as to afford no occasion for question as to its beneficial results, both to the immigrant and to his employer. The only cause for wonder is that the Indian Government itself does not use the system to a greater extent to get rid of some of the surplus of its teeming population.

When taking a holiday in Europe in 1866, Sir William spent some time at Cannes, where he had a very interesting interview with Lord Brougham (then in his eighty-eighth year), who had many years before shaken the British Parliament by his eloquent denunciation of the treatment of the missionary Smith (sometimes called the Demerara Martyr), who had been condemned to death on a charge of encouraging the insurrection of slaves in Demerara in 1823, and had died in prison before his reprieve was received from England. Though the old man had lost his memory for present affairs, the name of Demerara lit up the unquenched spirit that still survived within him. His familiarity with minute details of the Demerara insurrection struck Sir William as extraordinary: "During his relation he became much excited by a revived indignation. With one hand he took repeated pinches of snuff, which before the end of the interview was abundantly sprinkled over his shirt front, while his other hand made quick gestures as though he were addressing a large audience." Only once again did our author see this famous old man eloquent. It was at a party given by the family at the Villa Lénore; then, "during the evening he walked through the room, taking, as far as I saw, no notice of any one, and apparently unconscious of what was going on—a truly pathetic spectacle."

In 1869, Sir William was appointed administrator of the Island of St. Lucia, one of the Caribbean group, lying between the British colony of St. Vincent and the French colony of Martinique. His position was much like that of a Lieutenant-Governor, and he had above him the Governor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands, whose headquarters were then at Barbados. One of those chiefs under whom he served was the redoubtable Sir John Pope Hennessey, whom he describes as a very agreeable man socially—an opinion that will be shared by all who had any acquaintance with that lively Irishman, however much one may differ upon the line of policy he pursued in colonies where the treatment of subject races is an ever burning question. St. Lucia is governed under the crown-colony system; that is to say, the laws are made by a council consisting partly of officials and partly of private persons nominated by the Administrator, approved by the Governor-in-Chief, and appointed by the Sovereign, at the instance of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Over the deliberations of this Council the Administrator presides with a casting vote as well as a deliberative vote. In executive matters, the Administrator is controlled by the Governor-in-Chief, who, however, if a wise man, will not unduly interfere with a competent Administrator. To a man of intellectual vigor, at the age of thirty-five, as Sir William Des Voeux then was, there was plenty of scope for the exercise of governing power, which he did not fail to exercise. The first thing was to purge the civil service, which was a veritable Augean stable. The Chief Justice of the Colony was tried on charges of (1) corruption, (2) drunkenness, and (3) indebtedness to the practitioners of his court; was found guilty of each offence, and dismissed the public service. So sodden had this judge's brain become that, on the trial of a man for burglary, his honor had solemnly addressed him, on conviction, as though his offence had been rape; and there were several other cases of a similar kind. It may here be interjected that in tropical colonies, where one has always a thirst, and always something to drink, one of the most difficult things in administration is to get a conviction against an offending official charged with intemperance. You can prove a transgressor to be guilty of embezzlement, or any serious dereliction of duty, but "a fellow-feeling makes us wondrous kind" when a man stands a chance of losing his office on account of hard drinking which lessens his usefulness for duty and brings scandal upon the public service. The St. Lucia judge had once before been formally accused of drunkenness, but, though the offence was committed in the sight of a great number of witnesses, the accused was acquitted, no doubt from the failure of the witnesses to appear against him. The records of the registry of the court were in a disgraceful state, for the Deputy Registrar had been imitating his legal chief in habits of inebriety; but before regular steps could be taken for his re-

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moval from office, this "popular man" died from the effects of drink. Besides these black sheep, the Medical Officer, the Chief Revenue Officer, and a member of Council had been compelled to resign their appointments. The member of Council had been discovered to be defrauding the Excise in connection with his rum distillery.

St. Lucia had long been notorious for being infested with a most venomous kind of snake, the *fer-de-lance*, whose death-dealing bite had yearly added its quota to the mortality in the island. Sir William imported the mongoose, the mortal enemy of snakes, into the island, with such very successful results that, from 22 deaths in 1869, the number had fallen to one death in 1898. The roads of the island were soon taken in hand. Their care had been intrusted to commissioners, most of them planters, who were supplied with labor by the corvée system, a survival from the time when St. Lucia was under French rule. Too often was work done on the planters' private roads instead of on the public highways. Moreover, there was great laxity in supervision of such work as was done on the roads of the colony. For the corvée system a poll tax was substituted with success. There was no public hospital in the island, and such charitable institutions as existed were in wretched condition; and there was a sad want of medical aid for the great majority of the people. All these defects were gradually remedied by Sir William Des Voeux, who also established a central hospital and district hospitals. A new masters and servants law was passed, a Government savings bank was established, and various other useful measures were carried through, to the advantage of the colony. The principal piece of legislation, however, which Sir William Des Voeux was able to accomplish was the passing of a Code of Civil Law, which he managed to carry through the local Council only just before leaving St. Lucia in 1877. It was "the work of three weary years." Connected with it was a code of civil procedure.

When, nowadays, Mr. Chamberlain is anxious that central factories for the sugar industry should be established in the West Indies, it is worth noting that nearly thirty years ago such a factory was established at Cul de Sac in St. Lucia, through the efforts of Sir William Des Voeux, who had been impressed by the successful working of such factories in the neighboring French colony of Martinique. It was only by interesting some of his own personal friends in the venture that sufficient funds could be obtained to establish and work the factory, which did not, however, prove a financial success at that time. After varying fortunes, it is now fairly prosperous, and it has always set a standard of sugar manufacturing for the estates in St. Lucia. It remains to this day the only central factory in any of the smaller British West Indian Islands.

As regards the responsibilities of governing a small colony like St. Lucia, Sir William justly observes that "it is a common notion that the quantity of work required of a Governor increases in direct proportion to the importance of the colony governed." This error was shared by Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, who, meeting Sir William Gregory, then just returned from Ceylon, said: "Mr. Gregory, when are you going to publish your Aristophanes?" Sir William replied: "I have of late years been so occupied with public business that I have made very little progress." To this Mr. Gladstone: "How can you say that? You have only charge of a little island, whereas I in my present position always manage to give one or two hours a day to classical work." Upon this Sir William remarks: "This reflection I venture to think unjust, and I have a confident belief that had even Mr. Gladstone been Governor of Ceylon, he would not have been able to fulfil the duties creditably without more time than he gave to the work of governing Britain." In explanation of his statement, Sir William points out, with good reason, that "the higher the places in the official hierarchy, the more capable, as a rule, are the subordinate workers; the lower the place, the greater is the amount of drudgery to be undergone by the Administrator, who is obliged to do much which is ordinarily done by subordinate officers, and has also to exercise a much closer supervision over his assistants." The amount of work that falls to the Governor of a self-governing colony is but a trifle compared with that which has to be done by the Governor of a crown colony. The Marquess of Normanby, who governed many of the self-governing colonies, told Sir William Des Voeux that when he had spent two or three hours at his desk, he regarded it as a very exceptional day's work, and that there were many days when there was no obligatory duty to be performed. In such colonies, in fact, the Governor reigns but does not govern. In crown colonies, on the other hand, an able Governor may justly say, "I am the State."

For eleven months, in 1877, Sir William was Lieutenant-Governor of Trinidad, that highly prosperous British colony which lies at the mouth of the River Orinoco, awaiting the era of peace that shall develop the trade of the ever-revolutionary republics of Venezuela and Colombia, and make of Trinidad a Hong Kong of the Western world. In his position of *locum tenens* of the Governor of the colony, who was on leave of absence, it was not open to Sir William to be active in initiating a policy. His function was to "carry on" until the Governor should return. Just the same, he held the reins of government with a firm hand. Received with frigid unwelcome, he so lived down dislike of his appointment, by which a local official was ousted, that on his departure he was given a very warm demonstration of good will. During his short tenure of the government of Trinidad, Sir William and his Executive Council had to discuss measures to be taken in view of a threatened revolution in Venezuela, the movers in which were apparently making Trinidad their base of operations—"much to the vexation of the Venezuelan Consul, who kept writing indignant letters on the subject." It was found, however, that nothing could be done under the Foreign Enlistment act unless the revolution had actually broken out and the revolutionists had attained an established footing such as to bring them under the extended meaning of "a foreign state." Under a local law, the Governor could stop the exportation of arms, and that was done. In a journal written at the time, Sir William noted how difficult it was to prevent arms from being sent away, from want of prompt information.

Sir William Des Voeux was the second Governor of the Fiji Islands after they came under British rule, succeeding in that office Sir Arthur Gordon. Both these statesmen were well fitted to lay the foundations of government in a colony where the questions between natives and white settlers required the impartial handling of strong, able, and resolute governors. Sir William pays a well-merited tribute to Sir Arthur Gordon's sympathetic dealing with the Fijians, whose confidence he had secured by his wise and just measures. Order reigned throughout the group of islands, and it was maintained, not by European soldiers, but by a native constabulary. Quite a charming character is given by Sir William of the ex-King of these cannibal islands, Thakombau, who ceded his sovereignty to Great Britain and became a most loyal supporter of British rule; and yet this man had at six years of age been made to club another boy and partake of his flesh, and had, it was estimated, tasted of over one thousand men's bodies before he was converted to Christianity at fifty years of age.

It was an active life of work that the British Governor had in Fiji. Besides questions as to dealing with natives, there were interminable land disputes, some of which were of international interest, owing to the settlement of foreigners within the group. The Wesleyan missionaries, too, to whose great services to the Fijians Sir William bears warm testimony, seemed to feel the loss of their autocratic power over the islanders through the coming of British government, raised questions as to lands, and otherwise made things anything but agreeable for the Governor. The coffee-leaf disease made its appearance, and measures had to be taken for its suppression. The arrival of a ship with cholera and smallpox on board gave the Governor great anxiety to prevent the introduction of those plagues among the islanders, who had not long before been decimated by the introduction of measles. The want of money in the public treasury made it difficult to carry on the administration and to execute public works, and the British Government declined to continue the aid afforded in the early years of annexation. The Chief Justice of the Colony, Sir John Gorrie, had a weakness for engaging in a tussle with Governors, and he gave Sir William a rather anxious time.

With deep regret Sir William Des Voeux records the refusal of the United States Government to join in an international agreement for restricting the sale of arms and ammunition to the natives of the Pacific. He says: "If this question had been generally understood by the American people, I feel sure that they would not have permitted their country to be the only civilized Power holding out against the cause of humanity." It can only be noted here that, as Governor of Fiji, Sir William took part in the epoch-making Australian convention, held at Sydney in the latter part of 1883, as a result of which the Federal Council bill was passed and in time the Commonwealth of Australia evolved. Our readers will find the author's notes upon the statesmen of Australia to be highly appreciative.

When he assumed the Government of Newfoundland in 1886, Sir William found himself for the first time the constitutional

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ruler of a self-governing colony. Political parties in the island were bitterly divided upon religious questions. It was not long, however, before the Governor, by the exercise of tact and straightforward dealing, changed this state of things, and some of the Opposition members joined the Ministerial Cabinet. The great question with which the Governor had to deal was that of the French claims to fishing off the shores of Newfoundland. He became converted to the colonists' view of the case, and warmly upheld it against the wishes of the Home Government. A very strong dispatch in support of the colonial interest in the fishery question was written by the Governor to the Colonial Office on the 14th of January, 1887, and is published as an appendix to his book. When the Governor left the colony for Hong Kong there were marked demonstrations of regret at his departure.

Next to the port of New York ranks Hong Kong as a resort for foreign-going shipping. Of the importance of this great commercial centre in the Far East a good idea will be obtained from Sir William's book. Here, as elsewhere, his activity in administration was exercised, and his modes of business and social matters afford entertaining reading. The "strong man" that Sir William had shown himself throughout his various governments was again visible at Hong Kong. But broken health compelled him to resign his Governorship in 1891. He left Hong Kong with marks of esteem from all classes. On his way to England he spent some time at Ringwood, N. J., as he had done oftentimes, with the family of Mr. Abram Hewitt. The author has dedicated his work to his wife, whose devoted care of him in illness and in health will be noted by those who read his book. Lady Des Voeux is a daughter of the late Sir John Pender, who was widely known as a promoter of international telegraph systems.

## OLD ENGLISH SILVERWARE.

*Old English Plate,* Ecclesiastical, Decorative, and Domestic: Its Makers and Marks. By Wilfred Joseph Cripps, C.B., F.S.A., Eighth edition, with 127 illustrations and upwards of 2,600 facsimiles of Plate Marks. Scribners. 1903. 8vo, pp. xx., 521.

*Old London Silverware:* Its History, its Makers, and its Marks. By Montague Howard. With 200 illustrations and over 4,000 facsimiles of Makers' Marks and Hall Marks. London: B. T. Batsford; New York: Scribners. 1903. 4to, pp. xviii., 405.

Of the two useful books named above, the first is the standard work on the subject. This can hardly be questioned when we consider the surprising fact that a book on a subject so peculiar, a subject so limited in interest, should now be in its eighth edition when the first was of 1878. The volume has always been of the same medium octavo size, except that, after the appearance of the sixth edition, there came out what was announced as a "Library Edition"—that is, the book as it then existed was reprinted on somewhat larger paper with a very few changes in the text. How many copies in all have been sold, nowhere appears. It is only certain that the demand for the book has been continuous, and that it is referred to on all sides as a "sufficient authority for all the matters most immediately requiring decision in the study of ancient plate." This circulation, however, has been mainly in England. It is only within a few years that the love of old silverware has become international, so to speak—has been carried from land to land—so that the comparatively simple pieces which remain to us of old English make are sought for in the United States by those alone who can afford to pay the enormous prices to which they mount in the struggles of the auction-room. When a not very showy piece of eighteenth-century silverware is found to have been sold at auction at the price per ounce of about two hundred pounds sterling—that is to say, that the twenty-ounce piece has brought twenty thousand dollars—it is evident that the millionaires of a foreign country have begun to compete, and that they will compete again, with those of England for the possession of the rarity.

Nor is it unfair to express in such terms as these the estimate which a student of fine art must make of the struggle for pieces of old English silverware. That silverware is not very beautiful in design except for the score of ancient (*i. e.*, pre-Reformation) chalices which alone remain, and the best dozen or two of eighteenth-century urns, such as the Ashburnham Cup by Lamerie, figured in a good photogravure in this volume. The two or three score of early communion cups and tankards have a certain simple charm; some of the ancient pieces of domestic plate, though not all of them, are really of artistic value. Tolerable woodcuts of these abound in the pages of Mr. Cripps's book. Thus, the pages from 301 to 310 contain sufficiently good reproductions of half-a-dozen specimens of the old "monumental" salt; and of these, two at least are really fine in design—worthy of any epoch and a credit to the nation which produced them. The pages which follow deal with flagons; and then come cocoa-nut cups, ostrich-egg cups, drinking horns, beakers, hanaps, "standing cups" (which are in most cases the same as hanaps), and cups of outlandish form and fantastical conception like the Peahen, or the Royal Oak, with silver acorns swinging from its body; or the Pepys cup which is preserved at Clothworkers' Hall in London. These pieces are not to be possessed by the private collector. They are the remains of the great possessions of mediæval England, the little that has come down to modern times from the epoch before the plunderings of the religious reformers and the sacrifices made by friends of King Charles the Martyr. They are held by public and semi-public bodies which will not relinquish them in our day.

With the eighteenth century more illustrations are to be had, and many more existing pieces are represented in a way by each given illustration. The present edition of Mr. Cripps's book contains several photogravures which were not in former editions, as well as the frontispiece, which represents a salver of 1595 and a ewer of 1617, both in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle. The other four photographic illustrations give a splendid cup at Pembroke College, Cambridge, one in the British Museum, one in Clare College, Cambridge, and a tea-caddy which belongs to the author of this volume. The one cup which is at Clare College is one of the pieces made by the famous Lamerie, the most celebrated English goldsmith of the eighteenth century, and it is an exquisite piece, faultless in form and with less of the violence of detail than might be expected of a piece belonging to the mid-eighteenth century. Another covered cup by Lamerie is given in outline drawing on the page following the photograph; and eighteenth-century flagons, tea urns and chocolate pots are given elsewhere in sufficient numbers to remind the student that the ages follow one another without resembling one another, according to the old proverb. Eighteenth-century architecture (and more especially interior decoration) is not, as we find it in England, a bewitching thing for us to study. But the eighteenth-century silver was as charming on the whole as even the work of the years before Elizabeth.

The subject of the Reformation and the destruction of church silver under Henry VIII., and again under Edward VI., is treated by our author with singular discretion. Dr. Jessopp, writing from the point of view of the aggrieved, the saddened, the indignant Churchman, is right to become almost inarticulate with grief and rage at the wanton spoliation of Henry's reign; but Mr. Cripps, surveying the whole field and finding that only a part of the church plenishing confiscated under that King and his Protestant successors was misappropriated—that much and probably the largest share of it was turned over to the Crown, according to a movement so universal among the reforming clergy and their followers among the people that it may rightly be called national, or else was used under the authority of episcopal or royal ordinances for the repair and enlargement of the church buildings—can not do more than express such regrets as we all feel at thinking of the splendid art of the past which our less remote ancestors threw away, so wantonly, as it seems to us. Henry VIII. allowed his favorites to plunder—there can be no doubt about that; but when the ordinances of his successor are examined, and it appears that through a series of years it was a deliberately followed up plan to deprive the parish churches of what they possessed in the way of Roman Catholic art as the cathedrals and the monasteries had been stripped under the reign of Henry; and when it appears again that, immediately after the brief Roman Catholic régime of Mary I., the prelates of Elizabeth's time renewed this puritanic, or, at least, anti-Romanist crusade until the churches were left impoverished as they are now, with only a pair of communion cups to represent the splendor of mediæval plate which they had held a half century earlier, then the regret that Mr. Cripps asks us to feel with him is of that sort which, as John La Farge has expressed it somewhere, is a part of the general evolution of fine art. Mr. Cripps makes it clear that, were it not for the opening of the coffins of bishops, we should have not one-third of the ancient chalices which we now know of. It seems a curious piece of poetic justice that the devout Catholic bishops of an earlier time should be denied the privilege of quiet rest in their graves in order that the spoliation of a hostile creed in later times might be made good. But indeed the whole record set forth in a general sort of way by Mr. Cripps, and to be found more fully worked up in books of a less special character, is such an extraordinary contribution to the his-

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tory of religion that those who wish to see the weight of religious influence on politics diminished could not do better than to circulate a knowledge of it.

The earlier chapters of this volume deal very briefly with the making and the care of the plate, its alloys, its design, the tests of its value: and at greater length with the mediæval guilds and their works and ways. This fulness of treatment of what seems the secondary subject is to be accounted for by the extreme importance given to the marks put upon silver by stamping, or, as it is called, punching, upon the study of which all our knowledge of epochs and changing styles has been found to depend. The dedication, to that very remarkable amateur (a man whose study of a minor subject like this has made him famous), C. Octavius S. Morgan, F.R.S., F.S.A., remained unchanged until the sixth edition, though it is not to be found in the present volume. It was this student of the art who showed how to use in a truly scientific manner the "hall mark" and the other marks which are appended thereto. That was in what now seem early times, for he began his work in a serious fashion before the middle of the nineteenth century. The latest knowledge on the subject is certainly included in chapter ii. and the chapters following of Mr. Cripps's book; in fact, the larger part of it is more or less closely concerned with this very matter of the identification of every piece by means of its different marks—its identification in the sense of its certain association with a period and an individual goldsmith. The leopard's head—that is to say, a lion's head presented frontwise and crowned, "gardant," is the royal mark—the evidence that the tax has been paid; and the other marks which accompany it on every old piece tell the skilled reader of such things, or him who will look up the tables, just where the piece was made, by whom, and in what year

The second book on our list is a very different one in appearance, for it is a handsome quarto, containing very few leaves, of very heavy paper, and many illustrations from half-tone blocks. It resembles Mr. Cripps's, however, in its presentation of great tables of marks, and these are, though limited to London silversmiths, nearly all that is needed; for, as the author points out, there is no great amount of silver known to us in England outside of that made in London. Beside the half-tones mentioned, there are five full-page illustrations of silver-gilt pieces, the print in each case being of the closest imitative character; and this will carry with it to the thought of every student of such things a suggestion that they are not very attractive or very instructive. And, truly, one could wish them away if they could be replaced by good photogravures like those in Mr. Cripps's book. The attempt to give the metallic lustre and color has unmistakably destroyed the value of the reproduction. But the many half-tones are good, whether they are scattered through the text or printed as separate plates, and, in order that they may be good, the whole book, plates and all, is printed on the same heavy-coated paper. It is well-chosen paper, too, without the exaggerated gloss and loaded look of the ordinary "cut" paper, and in this way we secure that most desirable characteristic of the richly illustrated book—a uniform quality of paper throughout, with text and pictures on the same leaf or on precisely similar leaves.

The addition of eight portraits of eminent goldsmiths would be more to the purpose if the names of the engravers were given, for in each case the portrait is reproduced from an engraving generally contemporary and always worth tracing. On the other hand, the pseudo-portrait of St. Dunstan (page 3) is really an absurd thing to include in such a collection, for, of course, it has no possible authenticity, and it is treated in a way to be nearly ridiculous. One would like to know what is the authority for a portrait of Henry Fitz Alwyn, Lord Mayor of London, as well as goldsmith, and a dignitary of real importance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but this authority also is held back from us.

Such omissions remind the reviewer that, in reading the book, he has noted a singular lack of literary practice. Literary skill is not so much in question—there is no pretence to that; but the way in which the statements themselves, even the simplest ones, are made and are associated with one another gives evidence of a much less complete knowledge of the conventions and the capacities of English writing than does the matter of the book of any shortcomings in the author's knowledge. In fact, it is evident that the author is a member of a great New York business house, goldsmiths in the modern sense, a firm known for their extensive and enlightened dealings with ancient and artistic wares.

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*Hawthorne and his Circle.* By Julian Hawthorne. Illustrated. Harper & Brothers. 1903.

In no respect is Mr. Julian Hawthorne's book more satisfactory than in its reflection of his own feeling for his father. We get this in many places; nowhere better than in the account of the elder Hawthorne's return from the Isles of Shoals, where he had been spending some weeks with Franklin Pierce in the fall of 1852, the year of Pierce's election to the Presidency and of Hawthorne's writing of his campaign biography.

"He came, and there was a moment of indescribable glory while he leaped from the carriage and faced the situation on the doorstep of his home. His countenance was glowing with health and the happiness of home-coming. I thought him, as I always did, the most beautiful of human beings, by which I do not mean beautiful in feature, . . . but beautiful in the feeling which he aroused in me beholding him. He was beautiful to be with, to hear, touch, and experience."

Hawthorne was this to all his children and preëminently to his wife. There was much in his writing to make it appear likely that he would be an uncomfortable household companion, and it is certain that he cursed the weather a great deal, and much beside, with persons here and there. But his home was for him "a garden of refreshment," and there was no measure to the devotion which he lavished there. His son's unaffected warmth of admiration in these pages renews the impression made by his 'Nathaniel Hawthorne and his Wife.'

"This is a story of people and events, not a study in literary criticism." It is written in a streaming style, so different from the father's that the son seems to have inherited from him the *habit* of writing, but not the art; certainly not *his* art. There is more of the mother's effusiveness than of the father's delicate restraint. There is a defect of taste in some of the personal allusions, as where we are assured that young Browning "was not such a mollycoddle and ass as he looked"; and this defect is gross in the choice of phrases from the text for running head-lines. Many of these are in the manner of the yellow journal: "Legs and Intentions"; "Half-witted girl who giggled all the time"; "She ripped the man open"; "Her skeleton, huddled, dry, and awful." The narrative begins with the days when Hawthorne was writing 'The Scarlet Letter,' and the son's shadowy and incoherent recollections of this period are pieced out at every turn by later knowledge—happily for us, for he knew nothing at the time of 'The Scarlet Letter,' not even that such a book existed until a dozen years after its publication. There was, however, an actual recollection of a big man with a brown beard and shining brown eyes, who came one day, bubbling over with enthusiasm, talked volubly, and went away, leaving Hawthorne and his wife smiling at each other. The man was James T. Fields, and he had 'The Scarlet Letter' in his pocket—not the book as we know it, but the original form, in which it was the longest of Hawthorne's short stories, not the shortest of his novels.

From Salem Hawthorne went to Lenox, and the life there is described well from the boy's point of view. Hawthorne's Berkshire acquaintances were Herman Melville and G. P. R. James, and about these is spun some mingled yarn of earlier and later recollections and impressions. Far more interesting is the description of Horace Mann, whose wife was a sister of Mrs. Hawthorne, and Elizabeth Peabody, who furnishes some laughable particulars. It was to Mann's house in West Newton that the Hawthornes went after the Berkshire weather had proved intolerable. Mann's portrait by his nephew is undoubtedly sincere, but it is not flattering. Hawthorne's indifference to abolitionism colors the description of Mann's anti-slavery sentiments: "Horace Mann was ready to out-Garrison Garrison; he thought 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' a somewhat milk-and-water tract." His discovery of Hawthorne's smoking habit was a tragical event; it obliged him to assure Hawthorne that he had in a measure forfeited his respect. His lack of humor and grim dogmatism are not, we fancy, exaggerated much, if any; but an impression derived solely from this depreciation would be miserably unjust to a man whom Theodore Parker ranked with Garrison and Emerson as one of the three greatest men that he had known.

We have some interesting details of Hawthorne's literary methods. The manuscript of 'The Scarlet Letter' was destroyed by the printers; Field's confidence in the greatness of the book assuring him no prevision of the manuscript's ultimate value. "All the extant manuscripts are singularly free from erasures and interlineations; page after page is as clear as a page of print." This is too sweeping. It does not hold true of the four trials with one subject: 'Septimius Felton,' 'The Bloody Footstep,' 'Doctor Grimshawe's Secret,' and 'The Dol-

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liver Romance.' Here the long fumbling with his problem tortured the lines of Hawthorne's manuscript into corresponding twists and turns.

In the chapter on Hawthorne's second Concord residence, Emerson is described with much elaboration and equal sympathy, especially as related to his fellow-citizens. "An Emerson who can make common men feel more like Emerson than he himself did, is the kind of man we need to bring America up to her ideals." Hawthorne read Emerson with enjoyment, but Emerson could not return the compliment. He was too much a lover of the sunshine not to feel chilled by Hawthorne's realm of shadows. Thoreau, Ellery Channing, and Alcott are barely mentioned; Alcott only to be disparaged. It is good to have the too much forgotten work of E. P. Whipple praised so ardently. For Stoddard, too, there is a cordial word, written, we remark, as if without knowledge of his death some months since.

Less than a hundred pages bring us to Hawthorne's Liverpool consulship, and for the remainder of the way we have an English or Italian setting to his works and days. His 'Our Old Home' hardly prepares us for the assurance that he fell deep in love with England and was homesick for it in Italy, and in America when he returned here broken in health and with only a few years more to live. There was much to make those years unhappy—his country's misery, his failing invention, his daughter's wavering mind (a Roman fever's sad bequest). The English period was singularly barren of acquaintance with distinguished men of letters. Its story is resolved for the most part into a list of those Hawthorne did not meet—Thackeray, Dickens, Tennyson, and many others. Monckton Milnes and B. W. Proctor (Barry Cornwall) were exceptions to the rule. Mrs. Proctor is described as "a woman of intellect and charm," where for "charm" we should have a word of far more pungent signification. Hawthorne's friends Bright and Bennoch were as dear to him as Bridge and Pierce in America. He seems to have been shyer of the literary class than of any other, and to have got on better with the jolly rogues of the Salem Custom-house than with the Concord "intellectuals," whom he enjoyed to the degree that they abjured their specialties. Both James Martineau and his sister Harriet, "a respectable female atheist," are treated by Mr. Julian Hawthorne with much disrespect, James with supercilious ignorance as having remained in a Unitarian pulpit "long after what he was pleased to call his convictions had ceased to possess even a Unitarian degree of religious quality." For those who know something of Martineau's standing, it is not necessary to correct this gross impertinence. It is a minor matter that the Rev. William Henry Channing is described as "a nephew, I believe," of Dr. Channing, "and the brother, therefore, of Ellery Channing of Concord." But Dr. Channing had at least four brothers, and while William Henry Channing was the son of his oldest brother Francis, Ellery Channing of Concord was the son of his brother Walter.

Hawthorne appears to have come out more into the open in Italy than anywhere else, especially with men of letters, artists, and the like. But in Rome he passed through several distinct phases of feeling—first, disappointment with the abominable weather. With the improvement of that came a new sense of creative power. Next, a profound depression, caused by his daughter's critical condition, set in; recovering from which as she recovered, he fell into a new slough of despond when it became evident that her recovery was partial and could never be complete. To write 'The Marble Faun' under the stress of such vicissitudes must have been a difficult task. The Faun of Praxiteles was so exciting to his imagination that it is strange to find him describing the statue inaccurately both in his notes and in the novel. The left arm, he says, "hangs carelessly by his side." There are good bits about Story the sculptor and the Brownings, Miss Bremer, Mrs. Jameson (of whose demonstrative affection Hawthorne stood somewhat in dread), Hiram Powers, Harriet Hosmer, ex-President Pierce, and William Cullen Bryant, with "his white Merlin beard and tranquil but chilly eyes." The description of Mrs. Browning is in Mr. Julian Hawthorne's most daring manner. A great difference is remarked between the Robert Browning of that time (1859) and the same man, yet not the same, twenty years later. No one who remembers Pierce's extreme kindness to Hawthorne will regret the son's lavish tribute to his worth, however doubting that he was "a strong man," or that, if he "had come to Europe to get the scent of Washington out of his garments," he could so easily have been purified.

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*Around the Caribbean and Across Panama.* By Francis C. Nicholas, M.Sc., Ph.D., etc. Boson and New York: H. M. Caldwell Co. 1903.

Dr. Nicholas justly remarks: "Of all the regions adjacent to the United States none are more attractive or present such varied conditions of development, scenic beauty, and commercial opportunity as the countries about the Caribbean Sea." His book, indifferently illustrated, is mainly an effort to illustrate this region by incidents of travel and by tales of (mostly very mild) adventures. A map, indicating the "localities where adventures occurred," accompanies the preface, and lends color to the suspicion that the author had scarcely any other object in his travels than to run after awkward situations and mishaps. Descriptions of the countries are few and far between, and devoid of local color. The author's individuality is the most salient feature, but noteworthy also is his description of what he calls the "death dance" of the Talamanca Indians of southern Costa Rica, and his two chapters on the Goajiros. These contain some ethnological information of value, although it is clear that Dr. Nicholas is by no means a trained ethnologist. Of the interesting regions on the Rio Strata, at Santa Marta and the high plateau at Bogotá, we obtain only a casual glimpse through the maze of rather unimportant personal happenings designed "to give a much clearer idea of the conditions and of the circumstances which one must expect to encounter."

It is regrettable that Dr. Nicholas did not improve the good opportunities afforded on his extensive journeyings in Central America and through northern Colombia, now that these countries have suddenly come to the fore in connection with the troubles on the Isthmus. He might have told us of the fundamental difference between the people of Panama and their hitherto rulers on the central plateau of Cundimarca or Bogotá. Whereas the indigenous population of Panama is largely mixed with the negro, the central Colombian is in a great measure of Indian blood mixed with whites. Whatever we may think of the negro, it is certain that he is eager to follow progress, if only from his imitative propensities. The Indian, on the other hand, is not merely conservative, but retrograde, wherever he is in the majority; and where he (or the mestizo) lives at great altitudes, it is natural that his character should become wary and crafty like that of mountaineers in general, but more so. Where such fundamental contrasts exist, political cohesion becomes impossible.

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*The Responsibilities of the Novelist.* By Frank Norris. Doubleday, Page & Co.

This collection of short papers written by the late Frank Norris expresses great zeal for his profession, and an ingenuous conviction that, if practised in conformity with his theories, it is an indispensable agent in the progress of humanity towards perfection. Personal ardor for his work is the interesting quality of the book, compelling the attention and sympathy even of readers who permit themselves to smile at the author's self-sufficiency, and who may be bored by his clamorous manner of making the simplest statement.

After Mr. Norris's death the opinion was generally expressed that we had lost a good novelist who would surely have become a great one. Speculation on what might have been is never very profitable, but in this instance was perhaps justified by the imaginative force and eager spirit evident in Mr. Norris's published fiction. Assurance of his splendid possibilities can hardly survive the republication of these casual papers, which had better have been allowed to perish, for they show defects—defects of knowledge, of judgment, of taste—that militate against achievement of greatness in any direction. Such defects, it is true, might have been modified by time, but they seem to be rooted in an unconscious ignorance, showing itself in disparagement of things Mr. Norris did not know, of advantages and accomplishments that he did not possess, in a total absence of personal background and of attachment to a past that should stand for an older self, from which one's feelings and theories may derive strength and value.

It seems ungracious to dwell on the imperfections of a writer who in his short span of life went far, and it would be superfluous to do so, were it not that his work expresses in an extreme fashion some regrettable idiosyncrasies of young American writers, especially of those who come out of the West. Few of them have Mr. Norris's native force, but they have similar faiths, and can shout them as vociferously as he, even in self-contradiction. For them the Declaration of Independence marks the dawn of time; their country, besides being "God's own country," is his only one; at their birth, Truth (which they never define but always spell with a capital letter) came up from the bottom of her well to salute them; according to them "The People, The Plain People," are (as they delight to say,

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"in the last analysis") the appointed infallible judges of all things, and, the judgment of literature being their special function, they have decided offhand, yet finally, that "mere literature" must go. The prose style of this happily confident band is an experimental (perhaps accidental) blend of many ostentatious styles (Carlyle, Dickens, Macaulay), and their vocabulary is largely their own.

Every one of Mr. Norris's articles illustrates some of these idiosyncrasies. About the Truth and the Plain People and the duty of the novelist to provide the one for the other, his concern is shrill:

"In the larger view, in the last analysis, the People pronounce the final judgment. The People, despised of the artist, hooted, caricatured, and vilified, are, after all, and in the main, the real seekers after Truth. . . . Is it not, in Heaven's name, essential that the people hear not a lie, but the Truth? If the novel were not one of the most important factors of life; if it were not the completest expression of our civilization; if its influence were not greater than all the pulpits, than all the newspapers between the oceans, it would not be so important that its message should be true. . . . Yet novelists are not found wanting who write for money. I do not think this is an unfounded accusation. I do not think it asking too much of credulity. This would not matter if they wrote the Truth."

The strain comes o'er the ear like the voice of the great Chadband, demanding to know: "What is the T-r-ewth? It is not a lie. No!"

Mr. Norris is very hard on his brethren who wilfully trick the Plain People, offering a lie in glittering armor; but, on the whole, he concludes that it is better for Americans to read them than not to read at all, because "books have never done harm." The only Americans who may not read are the modern novelists. They are peremptorily forbidden such recreation, lest they should not be able to address the Plain People simply and intelligibly. "Books have no place in his [the novelist's] equipment, have no right to be there —will only cumber and confuse him." The writer himself has indeed suffered no little confusion from the reading of books, either too much or too little. In a paper called "A Neglected Epic," he laments the failure of contemporary Americans to celebrate in epic form "the conquering of the West, the subduing of the wilderness beyond the Mississippi," and mentions the achievements in that way of other and earlier races. Why, he wonders angrily, has no great bard sung the Alamo, where Texans fought and died for several things enumerated, much more honorable than "loot and the possession of an adulteress"; and why, again, is "Achilles, murderer, egotist, ruffian, and liar," a hero, while the apparently immaculate name of Bowie "is perpetuated only in the designation of a knife"? Clearly, Mr. Norris did not read enough to be disturbed by a Homer question, or by any suggestion that national epics have not been written at the moment when the action celebrated was going on. He seems to think that Homer sat before the beleaguered city while the great fight waged, calmly inditing an immortal tale; that Tasso accompanied the crusaders to Jerusalem; and that *trouvères* were singing the song of Roland when he blew his horn for succor at Roncesvalles. Though epics seemed to him desirable productions, he may have thought that to know anything about their history savored of scholarship, a thing he despised and distrusted. "The United States," he writes, "in this year of grace nineteen hundred and two, does not want and does not need scholars, but Men—Men made in the mould of the Leonard Woods and the Theodore Roosevelts." And, pursuing the subject hotly, he quotes "so high an authority as Dr. Patton of Princeton, who has recently said that nowadays men do not go to college to become scholars, and that it was time and money wasted to try and make them such." This was an indiscreet speech for any professor of any university to make, and if Dr. Patton should read the works of Mr. Norris and many of his contemporaries, he might come to fear that the responsibilities of a professor may be almost as solemn as the responsibilities of a novelist.

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*Erasmus.* By Ernest F. H. Capey. With thirteen illustrations. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1903.

It is just four hundred years since Erasmus's 'Enchiridion' was first published, and three hundred and sixty since it was condemned by the Sorbonne and burnt by order of the Parlement of Paris. That particular work has now only a scholarly and historic interest, but some of its fellows continue to be reprinted at tolerably frequent intervals. The confessedly incomplete bibliography offered in the present small volume by Mr. Capey shows six editions of the 'Praise of Folly' in the last century (one in 1900); and the 'Colloquies' is still on the wing. Moreover, the past half-century has witnessed a marked revival of lives and studies of Erasmus in Europe at large; in England particularly during the past twenty years, from Meiklejohn in 1885 to Froude in 1894 and Nichols in 1901, besides Professor Emerton's American contribution (1899), not least in worth. To this series Mr. Capey adds a modest compendious view of the great humanist's career which can be heartily recommended as the beginning of knowledge. It is eminently candid in tone, keeps the chronology well in hand, epitomizes the 'Praise of Folly,' quotes freely from the 'Colloquies' and from other writings (including the correspondence), and fairly sets forth the claims of Erasmus to distinction and admiration. Luther's indebtedness to him and their difference as reformers are faithfully exhibited, and one may discern how Erasmus, falling far short of Luther in qualifications for effecting the emancipation from Rome, was still the more advanced liberal, treated the Scriptures with the freedom of the higher criticism, handled the corrupt clergy and orders without gloves, maintained that marriage was no sacrament, advocated the higher education of women—and still refrained from taking his place beside the struggling Luther, and even put obstacles in his path by his own equivocation and by censure and repudiation of his natural colleague. If we offset Luther's translation of the Bible with Erasmus's first edition of the Greek New Testament, in all other respects the Dutchman's primacy in world literature is most conspicuous.

Those who would glimpse all this can not do better than put themselves under Mr. Capey's guidance. His entertaining biography is tastefully printed, and is well and copiously illustrated.

*Introduction to Classical Greek Literature.* By William Cranston Lawton. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1903. Pp. 367.

The scholar who undertakes to write a history of Greek classical literature in one volume embarks on a peculiarly difficult enterprise. Not the least of his perplexities is the first question that confronts him—What class of readers shall he address, and address with consistency? Can he beguile the general reader with his honeyed accents, while the student, like the Lucretian schoolboy, insensibly imbibes the very latest prescription of modern philology? Nothing antagonizes your general reader like the disagreement of doctors. What he wants is a pleasant and picturesque statement without discussion. Yet he would feel defrauded by the omission of the "Homeric Question," which is a popular mystery, more real than the poems to the average man who may never read Homer, but wonders now and again how the "Question" is getting on, much as he speculates about the fourth dimension or the prospects for finding the Pole. In view of this delicate irritability of the reader who is not a student, what scholar is prepared to write, without faltering and without reserves, an account of the Homeric problem with which he can face both the student and the lay reader? If he attempt this conciliation of two really distinct interests, he will probably be considered too popular for the classroom; and how many general readers will he secure? This is a query "too sad to insist on."

Mr. Lawton addresses himself to the young student; but, after all, even the young student who is learning Greek need not be alarmed by the occasional appearance of a Greek word or letter. He might as well, for instance, acquire the habit of using the alphabetical references to the books of the Iliad and Odyssey, which all scholars have adopted. Mr. Lawton's careful exclusion of every trace of the Greek language in an introduction to its literature seems to imply an ambition to secure the very young student and the general reader at one blow. We believe this to be a fundamental mistake of policy in any work not designed for Chautauqua.

Mr. Lawton's statements are very clear; very elementary; he would not, of course, talk to the advanced student about "Princess Briseis" and "Prince Hector." Yet he constantly insists on "loving perusal" of the Greek masterpieces, a phrase incompatible with the idea of mere translations; he is, therefore, addressing a student who will go farther, who is even now reading a Greek text, a student in whom there may be the makings of a Wilamowitz or an Andrew Lang. That undeveloped taste for philology or for literature should be stimulated by a genuine introduction; the curiosity of the student should be roused, not satisfied. We do not believe that any student who reads Mr. Lawton's book will feel that he has been brought face to face with either the results of modern philology or the beauties of Greek poetry. For Mr. Lawton does not really introduce him to the Greek poets; the verse translations that crowd his pages, even though they were the best of their kind, would still fail to bring the student within sight of the original. These translations are chiefly Mr. Lawton's own work, and to say that they are not the best of their

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kind is only to say that he is not one of the few—they can be reckoned on the fingers of one hand—who have succeeded in making a verse translation of a Greek poem that can claim to be poetry, and also, to some slight extent, Greek. The English hexameter is a terrible instrument. Mr. Lawton proves once more that the "accentual hexameter" cannot stand as the equivalent of the Homeric line.

"He and his children's children, who shall be hereafter begotten" (p. 18),

**and**

"Who like unto a god was adored in the town of the Trojans" (p. 81),

are not really verse at all. In each case, prose would have been more effective, more truthful. Sappho has always been as cruelly betrayed by her translators as Homer himself:

"Whom dost thou desire that Persuasion," saidst thou,
"Gently lead to passion for thee, or who, oh Psappha, has wronged thee?" (p. 118).

Lines like these would, we believe, completely quench any reader's, any student's, desire to know more of the poetry to which even Mr. Swinburne felt that he could not do justice in a direct translation. The prose version of this ode in Wharton's little book brings the English reader as near to Sappho as he can hope to be brought, except perhaps by Mr. Swinburne's paraphrases.

On the side of philology one must regret that, since Mr. Lawton devotes ten pages to "Homeric Problems," he has not given some sort of historical survey that should include at least the names of Wolf, Kirchhoff, and Fick, which are ignored in his pages.

A rather more detailed survey of the relation of modern archæology to the Homeric poems would have been of greater service to the student and of more general interest than the separate chapter which Mr. Lawton devotes to the dactylic hexameter. The book practically ends with the chapter on Plato; the twenty-six pages which give a bare summary of "The After-Time" might just as well have been omitted; Mr. Lawton evidently thinks so himself when he tells us that "the real end of the story is the death of Plato and Demosthenes" (p. 3). This is one of the few statements of fact in the book with which we emphatically disagree. The "story" of Greek literature hardly ended with Lucian; still less did it end before Theocritos. Mr. Lawton gives no account of the Greek MSS., and his bibliographies are far from satisfactory.

We regret that a piece of work so well meant, a work that so sincerely reflects a love of the Greek classics, should be marred by so many minor defects. The parallel on page 141 of Alfred Austin and Bacchylides is wholly misleading. When Mr. Lawton, on page 127, compares a poem of Alcman with one by "our youngest master," we see that by that phrase he must mean Mr. Kipling; but we cannot admire the comparison or the expression of it. To say of Sappho (p. 114) that "there is evidence that she was a happy and devoted mother," is to go too far; to compare her with Margaret Fuller is to take liberties with both; but when Mr. Lawton adds that our maidens and mothers and nature-lovers will do well to turn instead to Adelaide Procter, Helen Hunt, and Edith Thomas, he hurries to jump the abyss that divides Sappho from the monthly magazines; it is as though he felt them to be safer ground, as indeed they are.

Mr. Lawton translates two famous lines of Hipponax:

"Two days are sweetest in a woman's life—
When someone weds her, and her burial morn."

This does not really express the fierce original: "There are two days on which a woman gives a man most pleasure—the day he marries her and the day he buries her." We by no means agree with the statement on page 191 that Æschylus would have been shocked by the modern sympathy with Prometheus; one might as well assert that Milton had no sympathy with Satan. To tell the young student that Æschylus lived so long that he needed to write only "four or five lines a day" is to give him a curious idea of the conditions that produced the Æschylean drama. On page 207 Mr. Lawton describes that most cruel and cynical dialogue at the opening of the "Ajax" as "Athena . . . chatting with Odysseus." In the spelling of Greek names there is no attempt at consistency. If Alkibiades and Alkestis, why Alcman and Heracles? On page 289 is quoted a verse of Milton as

"Killed with *grief* the old man eloquent,"

which is neither a verse nor Milton. A modern writer should always keep in mind the strange and sweeping deductions that have been drawn by scholars from the misquotations of Homer in Attic writers. But perhaps it is even less misleading to misquote Milton on Isocrates than to compare the latter with Edward Everett (p. 286). "Concerning the face-slapping" is a poor translation of the title of a famous speech by Demosthenes. On pages 324 and 335, "responses grows" and "his data seems" must be due to careless proof-reading.

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*Introductory Study of Ethics.* By Prof. Warner Fite. Longmans.

Professor Fite's aim has apparently been to provide a standpoint for the practical decision of moral problems rather than a complete tabulation of the academic varieties of opinion, and he has consequently attempted to represent all that is really important in ethical controversy as a conflict between the "hedonist" and the "idealist" attitude towards life. For the ordinary college student that is very possibly a more profitable way of conducting his course in ethics, though many teachers hardly realize the dangers of anything like bias or unfairness towards the views they disapprove of. Unfortunately, however, the scientific facts are too complex to permit so radical a simplification, and so Mr. Fite's antithetical types of ethical theory do not cover the whole ground. They omit, *e. g.*, all notice of the moral sceptic and the pessimist, who, even from a strictly practical point of view, would seem common and insistent enough to demand consideration. Then, again, Mr. Fite's two types (especially the hedonist) are largely puppets of his own manufacture, made by carrying the views actually held to what he considers their logical completion. The result is, as he has to admit (p. 95), that no one, not even Bentham, has ever held the whole position assigned to "the hedonist," and that all hedonists would disavow more or less essential features in Mr. Fite's portraiture. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the whole antithesis is actually tenable in any but the roughest way. Hedonism, so far from being identifiable with "the point of view of the external observer," seems to proceed rather from a form of subjectivism, while it is only in a few modern forms that idealism can be specially connected with mental activity.

Still more fanciful would it seem to be to connect hedonism with Lamarckism, and idealism with Weismannism in biology; and it is no wonder that, in attempting this feat, Mr. Fite should have fallen into the logical fallacy of converting an *A* proposition "simply," when he says (p. 235) that "the hedonistic moralist is definitely committed to the Lamarckian standpoint, and by implication the Lamarckian in biology must be a hedonist in ethics." If instead of such hazardous deductions we look at the facts, we shall find plenty of evolutionists who are not hedonists, and of "idealists" who are; and it would require far more discussion than Mr. Fite can give to it to show that they were not entitled to be so. Indeed, the combination of idealism with hedonism is easily explained, even on Mr. Fite's principles, by the existence of intellectualist idealisms which have no special affinity for moral strenuousness; but, unfortunately, Mr. Fite fails to distinguish between the intellectualist and the voluntarist types of idealism.

Other defects in a textbook of morals are the absence of a systematic discussion of the problems of freedom, of consciously irrational action (the occurrence of which is, however, implicitly denied on p. 234), and of a conception of the ethical end clear enough to justify the "assumption" (p. 326) of moral progress. On the other hand, the constant emphasis on human activity and selection in the construction of the moral order is in accord with the most promising tendency in contemporary philosophy, and worthy of a word of praise.

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*The Adjustment of Wages:* A Study in the Coal and Iron Industries of Great Britain and America. By W. J. Ashley. Longmans, Green & Co. 1903.

The text of this bulky volume consists of eight lectures delivered by Professor Ashley at Oxford. To this many documents are added, such as the rules of conciliation boards, joint agreements, sliding scales, etc. In the view of the author, coal-mining in Great Britain has reached a later stage of industrial development than in the United States. In Great Britain wages are determined by negotiation between organized bodies of employers and employed, whereas America seems to be just struggling on to the stage of corporate negotiation. The recent disturbance in the anthracite coal trade, although not precisely adjusted by negotiations between organized bodies, was practically settled in a manner to imply a recognition of their existence. More progress in this direction appears to have been made in the bituminous coal trade, where the miners' unions have in some States made their monopoly complete.

As to the course of events in the coal industry in this country, we have been abundantly informed; but what Professor

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Ashley has to say about the conditions in Great Britain has a fresher interest. In this industry, as well as in some other large industries, the workman, as an individual, has no standing. Bargains for wages are made by representatives of labor unions with employers or representatives of employers. This condition has prevailed for many years, and, in the author's view, *it is likely to be permanent*:

"In the modern factory, works, yard, mine, where many men are employed, whether with much or little machinery, it is administratively impossible to treat every man as an individual. . . . For the mass of the men, when many are employed, there must be general 'rates' of wages; a *separate bargain with every man and a* separate scale of reckoning for each are administratively impossible. But what is necessary in a single business is natural in a whole industry. . . . A common policy on the part of all the employers, the observance of the same standards or rates of wage, greatly lightens the toil of conducting business operations."

No doubt, if all the employers in a certain trade combine and all the laborers unite, the process of bargaining is much simplified. From the point of view of the contracting parties such bargaining is probably advantageous; but the point of view of the consumer is different. Professor Ashley does not see eye to eye with him. "We have so long idolized the consumer," he says, "and with such unsatisfactory results, that society may do well to try the experiment of thinking first of the producers—of all the producers." This is, of course, the essence of protectionism, except that some of the producers practically get the advantage of others in framing legislation. Protectionism has no horrors for Professor Ashley, and indeed he is so enamoured with the guild system that he would welcome the return of the *Saturnia regna* of the Middle Ages. Yet he states at the outset that trade unions cannot well be maintained in the smaller industries, and it seems difficult for them to be established in the greatest of all, agriculture. Combinations between employers and employed in coal-mining and in the manufacture of iron may thus be disadvantageous to the mass of the community, however satisfactory to the participants in these particular industries.

We cannot help thinking that Professor Ashley fails to observe that wages should be measured by their general purchasing power rather than by their money value. He seems to agree with those coal-miners who prefer no bread rather than wages reduced below a pecuniary *minimum*. Indeed, he thinks that the existence of a "sliding scale" tends to depress wages. The coal-owners may enter into contracts for future delivery at lower prices, expecting to be to some extent reimbursed by a reduction of wages consequent upon the lowered price. But prices in general rise and fall together. If the price of coal advances, it is generally a sign of brisk trade, which means rising prices. If it falls, it is because trade has slackened and prices are falling. Miners may be as well off, therefore, with low as with high money wages; and they, as well as consumers in general, may be much better off with steady production than if they stop it in the hope of maintaining an arbitrary price for their labor while wages elsewhere are being adjusted to the prevailing conditions. Such struggles must often tend to aggravate the depression of trade. This point, however, is not dwelt on by the author, whose chief concern is to exhibit the actual process of bargaining for wages in certain industries. Whatever may be the merits of his theories, he is careful not to obtrude them unnecessarily, and his description of the course of events in the coal-mining industry especially is admirably succinct and lucid.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, Lyman. Henry Ward Beecher. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.75 net.
Adams, Mary M.: The Song at Midnight. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.50.
Adamson, Stanley L. Old Nursery Rhymes Dug Up in the Pyramids. London: Dean & Son; Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co. $1.50.
Almirall, N. The Master-Feeling: The Story of *Agatha Peynton. Boston:* Richard G. Badger. $1.25.
Andrews, E. Benjamin. The United States in our Own Time: A History from Reconstruction to Expansion. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $5 net.
Bad Child's Book of Beasts. Verses by H. Belloc; pictures by B. T. B. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 60c.
Bain, John. Tobacco Leaves. Boston: H. M. Caldwell Co. 75c.
Barnard, Edward W. The Conceits of a General Lover. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.50.
Book of Gnomes. Written by Fred. E. Weatherby; illustrated by E. Stuart Hardy. London: Ernest Nister; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $2.
Caldwell, Adelbert Farrington. The Barefoot *Time. Boston: Richard G. Badger.* $1.
Castiglione, Baldesar. The Book of the Courtier. Translated from the Italian by Leonard Eckstein Opdycke. New ed. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $4 net.
Chamberlin, Henry Harmon. The Age of Ivory. Boston: Richard G. Badger. $1.25.
Children of the Arctic. By the Snow Baby and her Mother. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.20 net.
Coar, John Firman. Studies in German Literature. The Macmillan Co. $2.50 net.
Comments of John Ruskin on the Divina Commedia. Compiled by George P. Huntington; introduction by Charles Eliot Norton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.75.
Crane, Stephen, and Barr, Robert. The O'Ruddy. *New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.* $1.50.
Curtis, Edward. Months and Moods: A Fifteen-Year Calendar. New York: The Grafton Press.
Dance of Death. By Hans Holbein, with an Introductory Note by Austin Dobson. New York: Scott-Thaw Co.
Darwin, Leonard. Municipal Trade: The Advantages and Disadvantages Resulting from the Substitution of Representative Bodies for Private Proprietors in the Management of Industrial Undertakings. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $3.50 net.
Edey, Birdsall Otis. Six Giants and a Griffin, and Other Stories. New York: R. H. Russell. $1.25.
Egerton, Hugh Edward. The Origin and Growth of the English Colonies and of their System of Government: An Introduction to Mr. C. P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Henry Frowde. 60c.
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